UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES

DECEMBER 15, 1947

DEC 11 1947

New Republic

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S GOSSIP FACTORY

A COURAGEOUS FCC OFFICIAL EXPOSES THE G-MAN'S "TIP" SERVICE

By JAN HASBROUCK

ALSO:

IS PETRILLO ON STRIKE AGAINST PROGRESS?

By THOMAS WHITESIDE

THE REAL FOMENTERS OF THE FRENCH CRISIS

By DAVID SCHOENBRUN

A SUPREME COURT "DECISION" ON THE HOLLYWOOD FIRINGS

15¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ONLY 7,000 NEW READERS TO GO!

. . . and just a few days left before Christmas!

In November, 1946, just before Henry Wallace became Editor of New Republic, our circulation was 37,000 readers. In November of 1947 it was 89,000 readers. 100,000 readers by Christmas is the objective. The response has been big. There are some 93,000 readers at this writing — just 7,000 more to put New Republic's Christmas Campaign over the top.

Special Trial Gift Subscription Rates (for new readers) of $2 for 26 issues of New Republic are still offered. Give generously of them now. Make NR the leader in America's struggle for progress and peace. 100,000 by Christmas! Use coupon below TODAY.

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I wish to help NR in its drive to secure new readers. Please send Christmas gift subscriptions to the following names and addresses below, at the following rates:

1 Annual Subscription for $6; 2 Annual Gifts for $10; 3 Annual Gifts for $14. Additional subscriptions after 3, are $4 each if ordered at one time. (Your own subscription may be included at above rates.)

☐ Check here if you wish to give 26-week Trial Gift Subscriptions at Special Rate of $2 each. (For new readers only.) Good until Dec. 31, 1947.

To_____ To_____

Address_____ Address_____

City, State_____ City, State_____

To_____ To_____

Address_____ Address_____

City, State_____ City, State_____

☐ I enclose $_____ for these gift subscriptions. ☐ Send bill. ☐ Send gift card as from:

Signed_____

Address_____

City, Zone, State_____

(Fill this in as donor's complete name and address.) 12-15-47

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace
PUBLISHER: Michael Straight
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

CONTENTS FOR DEC. 15, 1947

3 Washington Wire
5 The Week
10 A Case for the People
12 Politics in France
15 Henry Wallace
17 Communications Revolution
20 Durr v. the FBI
22 V: Anti-Semitism, 1947
25 Books in Review
30 Business
31 Movies
32 Radio
33 Music
34 Theater
35 Labor
36 Correspondence
37 Bandwagon
38 Press

MANAGING EDITOR: Edd Johnson
ARTICLES: William Harlan Hale (Chief), Norman Grieser, Joseph Lyford, Richard Strouse, Theodore H. White, Thomas Whiteside
STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Lew Frank Jr., Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, Thomas Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Richard Watts Jr.
WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman, Helen Fuller, Jan Hasbrouck, James R. Newman
DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Harold Wolff (Business), Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Irwin Shaw (Theater), Jane Bedell (United Nations)
ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Lynn Chase
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Sally Howell, Ruth Tarcov
RESEARCH: Myriam Wilson (Chief), Elizabeth Bigler, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant
LIBRARY: Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Fannie B. Sibley
TREASURER: Daniel Mebane
ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1947 IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE MARROW in our bones chilled as we listened to Representative Gene Cox (D, Ga.) in solemn, sinister tones telling the House last week that it had better pass the emergency-aid bill, or expect to see Commies coming out of the cracks. Arms folded on the podium, with a sort of ghoulish calm Cox proceeded to put Republican opponents on the spot: Didn't they know we were already practically at war? Were they trying to aid the Soviet Union by sniping at the bill? That was the first round of the strange debate.

The second round came when the economizers, the "yes—but" boys, the Republican leaders who believe they can buy world recovery in a bargain basement, went to work to cut the bill's appropriations, and to tie strings to it. Beating their breasts, they cried, in effect, *"We* are the real, 100-percent, simon-pure anti-Communists; we are trying to keep American finances sound and orthodox. Why don't you cut off trade with Russia, you Moscow-lovers?"

So the rival groups went through their ancient, ritualistic political dance. Now and then a timid voice inquired if the bill might not have a humanitarian purpose. This astonishing question brought a shocked reply from both groups, the implication of which was that the questioners were faintly unpatriotic, if not subversive.

Meanwhile, the world blazed merrily, and even as Republicans hacked at the appropriations, riots and sabotage in France and Italy made certain that the original estimates of the cost of interim aid were already out of date.

Why Taft? Don't worry any longer about inflation—Taft and the NAM have taken it in hand. As against Truman's "totalitarian" proposals, the Taft-Wolcott GOP group is formulating alternatives—nice, mild, comfortable alternatives, based on such happy thoughts as tax reduction, relaxation of anti-trust laws, higher interest rates and "voluntary" controls.

We looked down musingly on Taft the other day from the press gallery. In his dry, rusty voice he was urging the Senate to cut interim aid to Europe. From our perch, his bulging forehead, projected into thick lenses, was a noticeable feature, as were also the long locks of hair, parted over his left ear and plastered across the bald half-dome, making contrasting streaks like the iron grating over a cellar hole.

In what lies Taft's power? Is it his engaging, boyish grin; his tactless insensitivity that makes him apt to blurt out prejudices and truths; his tremendous industry; or is it his record? As the Baltimore *Sun* recalls, he voted against the draft in 1940; against transfer of shipping to Britain in '41; against extension of the draft in the same year; on the eve of Pearl Harbor, against allowing American ships to enter combat zones. He voted against confirmation of Henry Stimson as wartime Secretary of War (and later against David E. Lilienthal for the atomic-energy job); he voted against renewal of the Trade Agreements Act in '43, and in that same wartime year he voted against food subsidies. He voted against Bretton Woods; he was one of seven Senators to vote against joining the United Nations; he voted against the British loan.

What, indeed, is the secret of Taft's authority? He is still the intellectual leader of the GOP, even though a group of Republican Senators, largely freshmen or Easterners, are alarmed at what he threatens to do to his party.

Blame FDR. It's curious how FDR still keeps popping into things. He is being blamed now for the current inflation. Why, it is demanded, didn't the New Deal mop up some of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inflationary money in the war, with better financing, and prevent the present crisis?

We spent a couple of hours looking up the record. In 1943 Roosevelt asked $10.5 billion of additional taxes, specifically to block future inflation. Congress approved only $2.1 billion.

Roosevelt called this "unrealistic"; a spokesman for the American Economic Association, Professor Frank D. Graham of Princeton, urged higher taxes on the House Ways and Means Committee. "If the danger of inflation is not scotched," the professor said prophetically, "we will suffer far more than we can possibly suffer under any taxes."

"Have you ever met a pay roll?" promptly retorted Representative Harold Knutson (R, Minn.), the man who is now chairman of the committee.

Ah me, you would think the American Economic Association would learn its lesson! In 1930, some 1,000 of them warned against the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act and what it would surely do. Congress passed and Hoover signed it, just the same, and the economic collapse it stimulated helped shape World War II.

Notes. Full-page ads are soon to be inserted in select Connecticut papers as a trial run of Eisenhower sentiment; they will ask readers interested in Ike's candidacy to send in small subscriptions for a national campaign. They should furnish a good test. . . . Major General Bennett E. Meyers was drawing an extra big pension—$550 a month for life, tax-free—because an Army medical board retired him for "total disability," although the alleged cause, "nervous exhaustion," was a temporary condition; Congress wants to know how common this practice was among other Army brass hats. . . . Gags, statements and speeches for 18 GOP Senators up for reëlection are being prepared by a full-time publicity man; another has been hired to help coin *bons mots* for the House.

Washington T. R. B.

★ ★

VOYAGE OF REDISCOVERY

The past can be used as an escape from the present. It can also be used as an area in which to renew our knowledge of our people's best aspirations in order that these will rekindle our spirit today.

Beginning next week, New Republic will take its readers on a tour of American historical rediscovery, presenting a series of portraits of figures whose lives bear on our own.

Some of them are forgotten men of the American past. All were movers and shakers in their day—innovators, insurgents, mavericks who gave vigor and variety to our liberal tradition. Among these will be:

IGNATIUS DONNELLY *by Stewart H. Holbrook.* A portrait of the thumping Populist who also did battle for Bacon against Shakespeare.

JOE HILL *by Wallace Stegner.* New light on the life and death of the legendary hero and troubadour of the Wobblies.

FINLEY PETER DUNNE *by Lloyd Morris.* The creator of "Mr. Dooley" as seen by the author of *Postscript to Yesterday.*

SOJOURNER TRUTH *by Walter White.* Before the Civil War, this crusading Negro woman aroused America's conscience.

JOHN WISE *by Perry Miller.* The author of *The New England Mind* looks at an early Puritan who broke away from the beaten path.

LINCOLN STEFFENS *by Robert S. Allen.* A new interpretation of the greatest of the muckrakers and of the legacy he left.

LORENZO COFFIN *by Sibyl Walker.* The "airbrake fanatic" of Granger days, who waged single-handed war for railroad safety.

BENJAMIN BANNEKER *by Saul K. Padover.* History has overlooked this Negro scientist, federal official, and friend of Jefferson.

TOM WATSON *by Ralph McGill.* Georgia's Populist rebel, as seen by the Atlanta *Constitution's* editor.

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH *by Ralph Henry Gabriel.* The preacher who fought the Morgans and Carnegies in the name of Christian Socialism.

★ ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 24, ISSUE 1724, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 15, 1947

New Republic

THE WEEK

ON FIFTH AVENUE, alligator handbags were selling fast last week at $125. Altman's advertised a short mink cape at $4,500. Businessmen reported that we were due for another smashing Christmas.

Five blocks further west in Manhattan, some 3,500 jobless men—many of them veterans—picked up a report that vacancies as temporary city laborers were about to be filled at $41.54 a week. Hundreds of them stood all night outside the offices of the New York Civil Service Commission in order to get a first chance at the jobs. When the doors opened in the morning, they learned that the report was untrue. There weren't any more jobs—certainly not before Christmas.

ANOTHER TRY

Food. The Administration's reactivation of the voluntary food-conservation program, launched two months ago by Charles Luckman in the best War-Bond-drive tradition, is a shrewd (albeit thinly disguised) move to convince the country that President Truman was right when he asked Congress for government controls.

Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson said that unless the program is successful, rationing and price control of meat would be inevitable. Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman was even more forthright; he said it was a "trial period until Congress provides the government with authority to deal with the situation."

The record of Luckman's gaudy campaign is melancholy proof that voluntary rationing is a failure. On October 7 the US public was exhorted to eat less meat—none at all on Tuesdays. The whole country firmly resolved to tighten its belt. But the trade was not worried; it viewed the whole thing with well founded skepticism. That day Armour's stock rose 5/8, Cudahy 1/8, Swift (in Chicago) 1/4. Wholesale beef prices rose a cent a pound; bacon two to four cents; ham a cent; and fresh pork remained steady.

The trade had guessed right. When the program started, meat production in federally inspected slaughter houses was just under 300 million pounds a week; now it is more than 400 million. To be sure, an increase at this time of year is normal. But the November production was 2.2 percent higher than last November, just after rationing went off.

Flop. Spot surveys throughout the country indicate that restaurants generally ignore the program. And the trade press suspects that the only thing restraining the average housewife from making larger purchases is the continued rise in meat prices.

The Department of Agriculture, which does not want to get embroiled in such matters, will only say that there are no figures to show that the conservation program has had any effect on meat consumption, one way or the other. The New York *Herald Tribune* headlined the story of rising consumption: "Public is not disregarding savings order; just takes advantage of big supply."

Foreign Affairs

Two small French war orphans were being interviewed over the Mutual network. "What is the most exciting thing you've seen since you came here?" an interpreter asked the first child. The little girl thought a moment, and said: "Bubble gum." Then he asked the other the same question, and she said: "White bread."

TO BEAT TAFT-HARTLEY

Action. Three new labor political-action groups were set up in Washington last week—the AFL's Labor's Educational and Political League, a Non-Partisan League established by the independent International Association of Machinists, and a group created by the Communications Workers of America (telephone unions). Their purpose is to drive out of Congress every member who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. When the railroad brotherhoods group, already announced, is created, there will be five "PAC" units instead of one.

Sponsors of the new groups realize that it isn't easy during a full-dinner-pail period to persuade workers they are being victimized by hostile congressmen. AFL leaders, trying to raise an $8 million campaign fund on a-dollar-a-member basis, privately suggested that $2 million or $3 million was expected. The AFL Executive Council did not use its new power to raise money by special assessments of 26 cents per member per year, though that may come later.

The political actionists know they will be more effective if they can support the same candidates, even when direct coöperation among them is impossible. When a candidate is supported by machinists, telephone workers, railroad labor and the AFL, in addition to CIO-PAC, the traditional charge of "Red influence" against him will be less likely to stick.

ONE WORLD IN SUGAR

New Era. The chief reason that sugar has always been so cheap to the US consumer, and so highly profitable to its producers, is that most of it comes from colonial areas where US capital

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was able to exploit native labor. Furthermore, the principal producing areas, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, could be played off against each other.

But in the past decade, the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (Harry Bridges) has sewed up Hawaii's 28,000 sugar workers (857,000 tons in 1945). The Cuban Sugar Workers' Union has organized more than half of the 400,000 Cuban sugar workers (4,476,000 tons in 1945). The Puerto Rican Sugar Workers' Union includes almost all the island's 140,000 sugar workers (909,000 tons in 1945). In 1945, the US itself produced 482,000 tons of cane and 1,278,000 tons of beet sugar, almost none of it by union labor.

At the end of last month the next logical step was taken when an International Sugar Workers' Congress met in Havana. The ILWU, the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans (78 percent of the production for the US market) were on hand. They agreed to work together in research, lobbying and publicity, and eventually, to conduct joint collective-bargaining negotiations "so that in the future no sugar anywhere will be cut, ground, transported or refined unless the demands of all the areas are satisfied."

That this determination is backed by more than conference goodwill was

WHY THE GOP WILL VOTE PRICE CONTROLS

by Helen Fuller

CONGRESS doesn't know it yet, but it will almost certainly vote for a return to price controls before next summer. Prices are going to be so outrageously high that control legislation will become practically inevitable in an election year.

All commodity prices are now accelerating almost as rapidly as food prices. Fats and oils, for instance, went up 20 percent in one week a fortnight ago, and 4.5 percent more the following week. Some of the sharpest experts in Washington predict that the cost of living will have risen another 20-25 percent by May 1. Watch Congress respond to public opinion then, they say.

But looking at Congress today, there is no sign of any such encouraging prospect. The special session, with its business only just begun, is already packing to go home.

The President delayed his recommendations for a long-range European recovery program so long that Congress cannot be blamed for having made little progress on that.

GOP's waiting game. The third point in the President's call for the special session, anti-inflation legislation, has been the most shamefully neglected of all. Chances are that the special session will adjourn on December 19 without approving even one of Truman's 10 points for fighting inflation.

The Republicans intend to follow Truman's recommendations (1) to extend export controls; (2) to renew rent controls; and (3) to continue allocation of transportation equipment. But they intend to wait until the regular session and then do these things as part of a Republican, not a Truman, program.

Cabinet divided? Judging by what has been produced to date, the GOP plan will be anything but drastic. In addition to the three controls listed above, the Republican masterminds want only:

- Tax-slashing, plus government economy;
- Stabilization of foreign currencies;
- A big drive to sell government bonds;
- Voluntary self-regulation by industry as to allocations and prices.

On the last point, the GOP has support even within Truman's cabinet. W. Averell Harriman and James Forrestal did not favor including price control and rationing in the Truman program to begin with, and, according to their associates, have not changed their minds.

Harriman has been halfheartedly testifying before various congressional committees on the need for strong governmental controls, but at the same time he has quietly continued work on an opposite plan for an NRA-like system of "industry coöperation," along just the lines the Republicans are thinking.

Before he left for his brief Florida holiday, President Truman asked Secretaries Harriman, Snyder and Anderson to get together, reconcile their differences and be ready with legislation they all approve when he returns.

The legal technicians on Harriman's staff assigned to this job have drawn up two excellent bills providing the powers necessary to carry out Truman's program. If Harriman, Snyder and Anderson approve the drafting, these bills will be introduced by an Administration spokesman before the special session adjourns.

Then when Truman reiterates his demand for controls in his January message to the new session of Congress, it can be in terms of specific pending legislation.

Another Missourian. President Truman took his old friend Caskie Collet, the Missouri judge, along with him to Florida to try to talk him into stepping down from the bench to serve as a kind of economic stabilizer. Collet, if he agreed, would use such authority as now exists to fight inflation, and would direct the campaign to get more. He might even be able to keep Truman's cabinet in line behind the Administration program. But it is pretty clear that nothing except a dreadful pressure of inflation will move the Republican Congress to act.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movingly demonstrated last year when miserably paid Cuban workers ($2.88 per day) collected $2,500 for the striking Hawaiian workers ($7 per day).

DYSPEPTIC CONVENTION

NAM. J. Howard Pew is president of the Sun Oil Company, vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers, a power in the Republican Party and a dead-ringer for anybody's cranky old grandpa.

At the NAM's fifty-second annual Congress of American Industry, in New York City's Waldorf-Astoria last week, he stood before a crowd of some 3,000 businessmen to raise hell about "Marxians," "collectivists and the Socialist-minded." The way Joe defines the term, a fair share of the population manages to qualify.

The coming year, he sternly reminded the businessmen, is a "meaningful one" for the collectivists, since it is the centennial of Marx's Communist Manifesto. Marx is responsible for most of the world's troubles, Pew emphasized, and, "It is a strange thing that the Marxian rubbish and nonsense should survive a century. Yet it has, and in doing so, it has brought Europe to such a state of hunger, misery and collapse that its people can be kept alive only through the generosity of humanitarian, capitalistic America and Canada."

Gospel. Even here at home the danger is great: "Marxian principles [are voiced] in tones of authority from government offices, in our newspapers and magazines, over the radio, in the classroom, in the college lecture hall and, most unfortunately of all, from the pulpits of our churches." These same spokesmen have the temerity to blame "business and industry" for a serious inflation, Pew intoned from his pulpit. They spread "false contentions" that big business is devouring small business, thus promoting the class struggle *among* businessmen—a factor which even Marx had never envisaged!

A veritable left-winger in contrast to Pew was Cyrus Ching, the towering head of the Federal Mediation Board and a former US Rubber vice-president. A genial man, attending his twenty-seventh NAM convention, Ching wagged a warning finger at the boys and upbraided them for the "inevitable snide remarks and sly jokes" whenever the government is mentioned.

It's a government of a free people, the defender of a free society—and you lose the respect of your employees when they see you sneering at it, Ching pointed out.

"Listen to the son of a ——," said a corporation official sitting near this reporter. "He's been in Washington two months and he already sounds just like one of them."

Dusty answer. Somewhere in the middle, if that's what you want to call it, stands Clarence ("Chet") Francis, chairman of the board at General Foods, whose discussion on the "Causes of Industrial Peace" was hailed by NAM labor-relations intellectuals. Francis obviously disagrees with the Pew thesis that people are discontented because a German philosopher wrote a book a century ago.

Why the trouble in industry? Francis asked rhetorically. "Because too many employers somehow fell into the grave initial error of treating labor as a commodity. . . ." We need, he said, harmony rather than legislation, and a group of workers who are informed, secure, properly paid, possessing individual dignity and opportunity.

Francis, who probably would qualify as at least a pseudo-Socialist in Pew's book, was a little hazy about the attainment of these goals.

And you'll search unsuccessfully through the NAM program, with its emphasis on tax reduction, on a $6 billion budget cut, on 100-percent free enterprise, to find the answer. Somehow the cries of the American people against high prices just failed to penetrate to the Waldorf-Astoria.

Burial Party

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE has hired a new publicity man to direct the 1948 reëlection campaigns of 18 Republican Senators. The publicity man's last job: Graves Registration Officer in the US Navy.

REPEAL BY STEALTH

Slick. Still chary of forcing downright repeal of New Deal legislation, the Republicans have evolved a subtler technique for pulling the stopper out from under progressive labor laws. They will proffer glossy new bills, on the surface like the New Deal variety, but perforated with "administrative improvements" (*i.e.*, loopholes) which will cripple their enforcement.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 is slated for this sterilization procedure at the next congressional session. The head doctor assigned to the project is Representative Samuel K. McConnell Jr. (R, Pa.), head of a House labor subcommittee which has been conducting wage-hour hearings in a back room of the House Office Building. During these sessions, McConnell has pretty well laid out his plan of operation.

Stiff dose. First will come the sugar pill: a bill to raise the present national minimum wage from 40 cents an hour to 60 or 65 cents. Then come "improvements" which will limit the coverage of the law. One such refinement may be adoption of the Social Security Act's definition of an agricultural worker, a definition elastic enough for courts to exclude cannery and tobacco workers, pickers, packers and other traditionally low-paid workers.

The same roundabout approach will probably be used on the 40-hour week. It is true that many prominent industrialists want a return to the 44 or 48-hour week. Morris Sayre, president-elect of the NAM, and Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, for example, have come out openly for longer hours. However, level GOP heads realize that the same goal can be reached without unpleasant headlines by simply going through the motions of accepting the basic 40-hour work week but undercutting it by eli-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Extraordinary Court

OF DINO GRANDI, the official British *Who's Who* says that after World War I he "led the Fascist movement in the north of Italy and took part in the March on Rome as chief of the General Staff of the Quadrunvirato" and that he was a "member . . . of the Fascist Party Organization 1921-23-24."

A United Press dispatch from Rome last week reported that Dino Grandi "was cleared by an extraordinary court of all charges in connection with the Fascist insurrection of 1922, when Benito Mussolini seized power."

minating overtime payment for less than 48 hours' work.

The GOP will get particularly assiduous support from Southern Democrats, as the wage-hour law has its widest application in the lumber, textile, cotton and tobacco industries in the South. So it was fitting that the Southern Pine Industry Committee should have touched things off with a letter to Southern employers asking "to have the wage-hour law amended in many necessary ways, regardless of what is done with respect to minimum wages and maximum hours."

LANDLORD'S LAMENT

Rents. Landlords are definitely not happy about Acting Housing Expediter Tighe Woods, who does not agree with them that the housing squeeze is over. On the basis of evidence culled from 33 industrial and defense rental areas throughout the country, Woods has recommended the continuation of rent curbs in all but three cases. What is more, his proposal has the support of local boards, which are almost unanimously requesting extension of controls past the expiration date (February 29, 1948) of federal rent legislation.

The strictly landlord hue-and-cry for decontrol has met with the following responses in critical housing areas:

¶ Clark County, Nevada. – Board asked for continued controls with "no blanket increase."

¶ Wabash County, Indiana. – Board revealed that for a population of 26,601 there are now only 2,600 rental units.

¶ Bridgeport, Connecticut. – Board recommended that the entire area (Fairfield County) remain under rent control.

¶ Albany-Troy, New York. – Board requested continuation of rent controls at present levels, since "new housing is inadequate."

¶ Hudson, New York. – Board recommended continuation of the Rent Act for at least another year.

¶ Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, Maryland. – Board investigations disclosed that over 800 persons are living in basements and cellars converted into living quarters in Prince Georges County. Immediate demand for no fewer than 2,500 housing units was reported in Bethesda.

¶ Pendleton, Oregon. – Board recommended not only continuing rent control but also recontrolling new housing, reporting that "rents on new decontrolled housing have risen beyond all logical reason."

Notwithstanding all this, the National Apartment Owners' Association (claiming to represent 100,000 apartment owners across the nation), at a "closed" session in Cleveland recently, marshaled "evidence" that controls are no longer needed, that the housing industry is being "crucified" by continuance of rent regulations.

HUTCHINS ASKS TIME

CHICAGO (NR correspondent)

Plea. Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, admits there is "substantial accuracy" in student charges that the university's Billings Hospital discriminates against Negroes (the *NR*, December 8). But, in an interview with a student committee representing 13 campus organizations, he has ruled out drastic corrective action in favor of a policy of "peaceful persuasion."

Hutchins' plea not to rock the boat ("Look how long it took me to get rid of football") has had little effect on the students, however. They plan to step up their protest campaign with walkouts from classes, and meetings.

PRIVATE WIRES

LOS ANGELES (NR correspondent)

Mystery. The California Snooperman, state senator Jack Tenney, is in the midst of another uproar. A sound technician named R. D. Mason says that Tenney, the head of California's Un-American Activities Committee, ordered him to plant secret microphones in State House Building offices. Tenney says he did no such thing.

At any rate, the microphones were found nestling in the walls of the Governor's and Lieutenant Governor's offices, and they lead to leased telephone wires in a nearby sound studio. Whoever ordered the job—the Los Angeles police chief says, "We have been unable to find the person who gave Mason the authority"—was in a position to listen in every time the Governor opened his mouth.

There will be an extensive inquiry into who done it. The investigator? Jack Tenney.

VICTORY IN BALTIMORE

BALTIMORE (NR correspondent)

Jim Crow. The Freedom Train and the annual meeting of the Southern Medical Association arrived in Baltimore simultaneously, and for a time it appeared that the coincidence would be embarrassing. No segregation was to be permitted aboard the Freedom Train, of course; but the Southern Medical Association's program, published in Birmingham, Alabama, announced that only white persons might attend its Baltimore sessions.

Four days before the medical meeting was to begin, 10 Negro members of the resident staff of a Negro hospital wrote to the President's Committee on Civil Rights: "We find it bitterly discouraging to report that certain members of our profession are bound together by dictates and attitudes which are directly and indirectly responsible for a shameful blot on our democratic record. . . . Small wonder

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

then, the high death rate, the high incidence of tuberculosis and venereal diseases and the shorter life span of the Negro when, among other atrocities—economic and social—the Negro doctor of the South (and elsewhere, for that matter) is denied the privilege of meeting with other members of his profession to discuss and evaluate the innovations and changes in methods and thought which make for modern . . . medical procedure."

The next day the *Afro-American*, Baltimore's Negro newspaper, printed photostatic reproductions of the Southern Medical Association's preliminary announcement. Simultaneously, white doctors joined Negro doctors in protesting to the Baltimore City Medical Society. Some threatened not to read their papers if Negroes were prohibited from attending the meeting; others threatened not to submit their papers, after reading, to the society for publication; still others refused to make donations to finance the meeting. The City Medical Society, as host to the meeting, announced it would admit Negroes to scientific (but *not* social) sessions whether the Southern Medical Association liked it or not, and so informed the latter's president, Dr. E. L. Henderson, in Louisville.

Precedent. The day before the meeting, the City Medical Society sent telegrams to the Negro doctors, inviting them to the meeting. Later, the council of the Southern Medical Association, representing 16 Southern states, capitulated and formally approved the city society's action.

The result was that for the first time in the Southern Medical Association's 41-year history, according to Dr. Henderson, Negroes attended the association's annual meeting.

Eventually, some of the members of the City Medical Society hope to go further, for, so far as membership is concerned, their society still is Jim Crow. They remember that the last time the Southern Medical Association met here—only 10 years ago—it imposed the same restrictions it sought to impose this year, and nobody bothered to do anything about it.

DRAWING BY SHARP

The FBI Blacklist Technique

WHAT it means to have the finger of the US Government pointed at you was demonstrated less than 24 hours after Attorney General Tom Clark published the list of "subversive organizations" prepared for him by the FBI. (See also "J. Edgar Hoover's Gossip Mill," page 20.) The Bond Hotel in Hartford canceled reservations for the January meeting of the Connecticut State Youth Conference. With pious horror the manager said, "The place for them to meet is Russia."

Actually, the conference includes youths from the Methodist Church and veterans' outfits which would face stiff opposition if they tried to meet in Moscow. The effect of being put on the Attorney General's list was to create difficulties for the conference almost as great in the US as they might have found in Russia.

The J. Edgar Hoover list, issued by Clark on the direction of President Truman, cut a wide swath, from the notorious Silver Shirts and Ku Klux Klan to an innocuous coöperative bookshop in Washington. Included were Japanese and German groups, which presumably went out of existence long ago, and the Communist Party, which didn't.

The names were gathered by Hoover and his G-men, who have spent many years of elaborately publicized "undercover work" on the task.

In conformity with the new US techniques of "due process of law" worked out by Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.), the Attorney General didn't allow the groups cited to answer charges or to examine the "evidence" gathered by the Vishnu of the Department of Justice. He ruled on them by decree.

Sop. Clark's only concession to normal and traditional legal procedure was his admission, itself a massive understatement, that "guilt by association has never been one of the principles of our American jurisprudence." All this did was to counsel the President's Loyalty Review Board, for which the list was drawn up, to use some caution before automatically tagging every member of every listed organization as a subversive.

If the board takes Clark's advice, some of the damage done by the arbitrary listing will be lessened. But if the board doesn't follow it, the techniques of Hoover and Thomas will be one step nearer to being accepted as the new US forms of "due process of law."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AS THE COURT MIGHT HOLD

Has a man accused of being a Communist the right to earn his living in the United States today? Hollywood motion-picture executives, who have announced, "We will not knowingly employ a Communist" and have been firing "suspected" employees, seem to answer No. A section of the California Labor Code, which states that no employer shall coerce or influence any employee "to adopt or follow or refrain from adopting or following any particular course or line of political action or political activity," apparently says Yes. The question has never been definitively answered by US courts.

To illustrate the issues involved, the New Republic *and a trained constitutional lawyer have prepared a decision which the US Supreme Court* might *deliver on the basis of precedent. It is assumed, in this hypothetical case, that three writers have been discharged by Megapolitan Films because they are alleged to be Communists. Upon the writers' complaint, proceedings were instituted under the California law, and Megapolitan was found guilty and fined $5,000. Megapolitan has appealed the case on the grounds that the California statute is unconstitutional. Following is a decision that might be rendered in the People of the State of California v. Megapolitan Films, Inc.:*

. . . The law has been, and still is, that an employer has an unrestricted right both to hire and to fire whom he pleases, just as the employee has an unrestricted right to work for whom he pleases and to quit when he wants to. All of our rights, however, are subject to restraint in the interest of the community as a whole, provided the restraint is not arbitrary. The case thus presents two questions:

¶ Is the restraint upon the employer in this case to hire or discharge whom he pleases such a violation of his constitutional rights as will require a determination to the effect that the law is invalid? and

¶ If the law is constitutional, would it protect employees who were proven to be Communists?

We shall deal with the question of constitutionality first. The right to contract, the right to free speech, and all of the other fundamental rights in our Constitution are not absolute and unqualified, and reasonable restrictions upon them are not prohibited by constitutional provisions. The fact that an employee holds certain political faiths of which his employer disapproves should not in a democratic country put him in jeopardy of losing his livelihood.

The freedom of full and complete discussion of all our current pressing and difficult problems is the surest method for obtaining live, healthy, educated democracy. Mr. Justice Black has stated this proposition forcefully in the case of United Public Workers of America (CIO) v. Mitchell *et al.* (67 Supreme Court, 556), where he said:

> In a country whose people elect their leaders and decide great public issues, the voice of none should be suppressed—at least such is the assumption of the First Amendment. That amendment, unless I misunderstand its meaning, includes a command that the government must, in order to promote its own interest, leave the people at liberty to speak their own truths about government, advocate their own favored governmental causes and work for their own political candidates and parties.

An employer-employee relationship has in it such a power of dominance on the part of the employer that it is capable of thwarting the rights and desires of employees to engage in the basic democratic struggle. This is particularly so under our current economic system, where concentration of power in great monopolies, unless checked, places in the hands of the few men who operate them the opportunity of controlling the livelihood, and thus the freedom of speech, of a large part of our industrial population.

If we should decide that the state has no power to say to an employer that he cannot interfere with the political life or the political beliefs of the people who work for him, we may in effect be preventing a large section of our population from engaging in political action.

In recent years, through the medium of new forms of communication and greater mass education, a larger percentage of our population has become increasingly interested and active in political life. It has come to be understood that a healthy democracy is one in which the democratic freedoms are increasingly provided and exercised. We have thus in recent years held as constitutional, laws providing for:

¶ Compulsory compensation insurance for workmen, to be paid for by the employer;

¶ Social security for workers, to which the employer must make contributions;

¶ Regulation of wages and hours and working conditions.

All of these laws have restricted the employer's freedom of contract with his employees, but all have been related to the economic well-being of the employee. We are faced in this case with the problem of protecting his political freedom in the economic area. The California law here con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sidered recognizes the interrelation of politics and economics and says economic pressures may not be used to deprive an employee of his political faiths and of his right to fight for them.

Certainly, this attempt to protect freedom of speech is not such an arbitrary restraint upon the constitutional right of an employer to hire or fire whom he pleases for us to say that no legislature can determine it to be a necessary protection. As Mr. Justice Holmes said in his dissent in Abrams *et al.* v. United States (250 US 616):

> But when men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out. That, at any rate, is the theory of our Constitution.

The California law fortifies the "free trade in ideas" to which Holmes alluded. We hold it to be constitutional, even though it limits the freedom of contract.

The second question—the application of the law to Communists—is complicated by the fact that no acceptable evidence has been introduced that the employees in this case are Communists. When dismissed, they were accused of being Communists. But they were not faced with their accusers, and no proof of their Communist affiliations, if any, was exhibited to them. Similarly, no such proof has been exhibited to us.

We have nevertheless considered what rights these men would have under the law if they *were* Communists, with the clear understanding that nothing in our ruling shall imply that they are.

In California, the Communist Party is not an illegal party and membership in it under that law and under our current precedents is not unlawful. To allow an employer, therefore, to discharge his employee because of his membership in such a party in violation of the law here passed upon is something we cannot condone. This is not to say that a member of a political group which is clearly subversive, and is unrelated to, or unconnected with, the orderly conduct of government, cannot be discharged. But until it is proven that the Communist Party is such an organization, we shall not deny the protection of the California statute to a member of that party (Lockheed Aircraft Corporation v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County *et al.*, 171 Pac [2] 21). It follows that Communists who are not members of the Communist Party must be similarly treated.

Though, under this reasoning, the liberties of some whom many consider to be enemies of our democracy may perhaps be protected beyond the area that a large proportion of our citizens deem safe, there will be time enough to curb them when the danger to our democratic system and our liberties is clearly present.

As Mr. Justice Brandeis so eloquently said in Whitney v. California (274 US 357):

> Although the rights of free speech and assembly are fundamental, they are not in their nature absolute. Their exercise is subject to restriction if the particular restriction proposed is required in order to protect the State from destruction or some serious injury. . . . [But] to justify suppression of free speech there must be reasonable ground to fear that serious evil will result if free speech is practised.
>
> If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the process of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence. Only an emergency can justify repression. Such must be the rule if authority is to be reconciled with freedom.

Our democracy today is in no clear present or immediate danger. Although it is not perfect, it is strong, healthy, active and well able to defend itself. We can, however, strike serious blows at it if, under the pressure of great events, we deny to those with whom we disagree the rights for which our founders fought and which we have struggled to enlarge.

We hold that even if an employee is proven to be a member of the Communist Party, or a Communist by any other definition, he would at the present time be protected by the California law.

It is our further opinion that an employer will be held liable for the damages resulting from dismissal, even though no specific law forbids it, when a proper case arises. We base this conclusion upon a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in Marsh v. Alabama (326 US 501) where the court upheld the right of freedom of speech even though private-property rights were violated by its exercise.

The threat to freedom is far greater where one's earning capacity is curtailed for upholding his political beliefs and the invasion of private rights is far less if an employer is restricted in acting toward his employee in accordance with our Bill of Rights. Man may not be able to live by bread alone, but he cannot live or exercise his freedoms without it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BUSY GRAVEDIGGERS

While Communists and the government play politics with misery, the Socialists expire and de Gaulle waits to take over

by David Schoenbrun

PARIS (by wireless)

FOR THREE WEEKS France has suffered a creeping paralysis as strikes cut down vital sectors of the national life. For five days and nights a Communist filibuster blocked the passage of Premier Robert Schuman's "defense-of-the-republic-and-the-right-to-work" crisis laws—the most far-reaching peacetime curbs on labor, press and free speech ever sought legislatively in modern France. Mobilizations, police cordons, sabotage, terror, rioting, insults, charges and countercharges have transformed France into a ghostly image of pre-Munich days.

Oaths and insults. For two all-night sessions I sat in a press box overlooking the semicircle of National Assembly benches and watched the deputies of France hurl oaths and insults from Right to Left. I heard a Communist deputy call Prime Minister Schuman an *"officier Boche"* after Communist whip Jacques Duclos made the accusation that Schuman, a Lorrainer, had worn a German uniform before World War I when Alsace and Lorraine were still German territory. I heard right-wingers shout at Communists: "Assassins! Muscovite saboteurs!" when the shocking news of the derailment of the Paris-Lille mail express was dramatically announced by a cabinet minister at dawn on December 3. I watched Communist deputy Charles Tillon, wartime leader of the FTP Maquisards, jump to his feet shouting, "You are the murderers."

And under a snow-gray sky in Paris next morning I watched Duclos, who once led the Communist resistance against the Germans in Paris, now lead Communist deputy Raoul Calas and his party group out to the Palais de Bourbon defiantly singing "The Song of the Glorious Seventeenth Regiment." Calas had staged a 10-hour sit-down strike on the speakers' platform. He had been charged with inciting to insurrection because he called on the recently mobilized reservists to follow the tradition of the Seventeenth Regiment, which back in 1907 had refused to fire on striking workers.

A few weary Parisians huddled in the morning frost and watched silently as the Duclos contingent swung into "Le Chant du Depart," the song which had been sung by victims of the Gestapo en route to the death camps in Germany. The Parisians remained silent until the Communists finished the defiant gesture by singing "La Marseillaise," and then angry mutterings broke from two men. I watched their hot breath steam in the cold mist as salty Parisian oaths crackled furiously: *"Salauds, crapules, faut en finir, quelle sale histoire!"* A protest from a tall, thin baker's boy: "No, they're right. One can't live these days." A woman said nothing, sobbed softly, then asked of no one in particular: "How will this all end?" Forty million French men and women are asking that question today, "How will this end?" and more often than not the answer is: "It will end badly."

The Communist attitude is that the strikes are exclusively economic and are based on legitimate working-class grievances. The government claims the strikes are Moscow-inspired sabotage, purely political, aimed at scuttling the present conservative government and torpedoing the Marshall Plan even before American aid can be loaded into ships.

After the fullest study, on-the-spot observations and long interviews with important personalities in all parties involved, this correspondent believes that the strikes are essentially political.

But what confuses the situation is the fact that at the root of the labor unrest is the basic economic injustice of putting a crushing burden on a working class suffering cold, hunger and exhaustion as soaring prices leave wages far behind. This unhappy truth permits the French Communist Party to manipulate a just economic cause for their own particular political ends. And Communist guilt in abusing the working-class grievance in no way absolves the anti-Communist authorities, who have their own burden of guilt to bear for pursuing their political ends when the economic future of the country hangs in the balance.

Pertinent facts. The Communists claimed three million workers on strike at the peak. The government conceded two million. But the Communist Party has barely a million members, so on the basis of the government's own figures at least half of the strikers were not Communists. The government offered a 1,500-franc cost-of-living bonus to workers whose CGT Communist leaders were demanding 25-percent across-the-board increases. Wages have hardly budged since August, but the cost of living went up almost 30

THOREZ—"MOSCOW SABOTEURI"

David Schoenbrun is CBS correspondent in Paris.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

percent, according to official statistics. The government's 1,500-franc offer represents 50 francs a day, which in Paris can buy a haircut or a second-balcony movie ticket.

The government knows this as well as anyone, and certainly intends to correct it; but herein hides the red herring and the hocus-pocus tactics. The government wants to break the Communist grip on labor and is backing Léon Jouhaux's *"force-ouvrière"* minority, anti-Communist CGT faction. If, after the Communist failure, Jouhaux is able to convince the workers that he can win gains for them, the government will have made a tremendous step toward ending Communist domination of French labor.

Political economics. This is the political angle of the government's position. It was clear this was in the wind on Wednesday, November 26, when Premier Schuman broadcast a national appeal to the workers to end the strikes over the heads of the CGT leaders. Obviously, Communist CGT-ers were forced to redouble their efforts to prevent this surrender. The Communists formed a national strike committee outside of the CGT where they could be unhampered by torpedoing from the Jouhaux group. The following Saturday, Daniel Mayer, Minister of Labor, went on the air and assured the workers that the government would negotiate with "your union representatives." At the same time Schuman went to the Assembly and submitted unprecedented laws to curb labor leaders. It was the technique of "carrot and stick" with a recalcitrant donkey.

The Communists' political angle is equally plain and stems from the historic change in the policy of the party directorate. It really goes back to last May, when the Communists voted against the government after the Renault wildcat strike and were expelled from the cabinet for the first time since the liberation. Thorez's entire policy up until then had been "coöperation with the government by the Communists," and the theme song was "Revolution by Ballots." That policy failed, mainly because of the Socialist refusal to combine with the Communists and the parliamentary majority's refusal to adopt the Communists' economic program.

The change of line became official last month in Thorez's report to the Central Committee. The Communist Party, which never renounced its revolutionary aims, has now swung back to revolutionary tactics. It has clearly abandoned any hope of rallying under its banner the middle class and outside sympathizers, and has returned to its first source: the working class.

One high official of the Communist Party told me: "We may be isolated in the Assembly, but we're not isolated in the country. We have the working class with us." A Communist editor said: "Even a temporary setback in the present strikes is only superficially a setback. We've rallied workers, shown them who are friends and who are enemies. The Socialists are ordering police against the strikers. We've tested men under fire. We know on whom we can count and where we're weak. And we've shown that we are strong enough to tie up the key sectors of the national life indefinitely."

Thus it is clear that the lines are drawn for a long-term struggle. The Communists are obviously repeating the classic pattern of discrediting the moderates, smashing the Social Democrats, forcing the government further to the Right for a final showdown, seeking the martyr's role and hoping to rally popular sympathy if the Right takes unfair repressive measures. They are also hoping to force de Gaulle to make a move now when conditions are the toughest for him. One part of the Communist program is already achieved: the Socialists are dead ducks; the non-Communist Left is only a hollow shell of a few scattered left-wing Socialists and independents, with no future other than as hostages of the moderates and the Right. Each time the Socialists balk at a swing to reaction, the government threatens to kick them out. This will either throw the Socialists into the arms of the Communists or hasten the advent of de Gaulle.

DRAWINGS BY FRASCONI

DE GAULLE—WAITING OFFSTAGE

Thus France's crisis springs from two basic issues: the one economic, inflation reducing purchasing power and wages; the other political, dividing the country into two competing forces, Communists and anti-Communists, with the anti-Communists an amalgam whose components are Socialists, Christian Democrats, moderates, conservatives, with a liberal dash of the extreme Right. The amalgam's main ingredient was formerly Socialist and is now conservative.

Waiting. Standing in the wings is Charles de Gaulle, waiting for his cue, which may not be long coming. He does not want the job now. Spring will bring gentle breezes and American aid. Also, between now and spring, further crises can exhaust the present government and make de Gaulle seem the only solution left, bringing him back on his own terms: the new constitution centers authority in a strong executive. De Gaulle believes Washington has now come to the conclusion that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the so-called *"troisième force"*—Blum's middle way—has failed and his own return is inevitable. De Gaulle hopes that, like it or not, Washington will give him full support when "l'heure H" comes. His liaison with the American Embassy in Paris is good and very "correct," as the French say.

Marshall Plan. America unquestionably must give maximum help to France, the key country in Western Europe. And that is the third factor in the present crisis which, added to the economic and political issues, helps intensify antagonisms. The Communists have made the European Recovery Program the main target for their propaganda attack in the foreign-affairs field. They have sworn to do their utmost either to defeat American aid or to try to make it ineffective once it reaches here.

The Communist attitude is highly unpopular, since the great mass of the French people are convinced that American aid is essential for French prosperity and recovery. But the Communists play up the American policy of rebuilding Germany as a "horrible example of the price of the Marshall Plan," and also bear down on the disaster to the French movie industry, which the Communists claim has been ruined with wide-scale unemployment because of the "Hollywood Rider" on the Blum-Byrnes loan accord of 1946.

The Communists' attack against America, their membership in the nine-nation Cominform, and Thorez's three-week "Mission to Moscow" last month widen the breach between the French parties already split over domestic disputes. This split has been accentuated by the international cold war. Each new tension between the USA and the Soviet Union serves as a catalyzer inside France.

This is France today: hostile forces encamped on the alert, recruiting reserves, seeking outside alliances, sending shock troops out to do battle in what amounts to a test of strength, and probing opposing defensive positions. It isn't war. It isn't peace. It is just like the rest of the world, but the accent is acute in French.

Business Without Dollars

by Alexander Kendrick

MOSCOW (by wireless)

THERE are five European trade missions here at the moment—British, Czech, Swedish, Norwegian and Belgian-Luxembourg—while the Finns have just left and a group from Denmark is due to arrive soon. Their presence can hardly be encouraging to those who believe the East and West must forever be prevented from meeting. Apparently necessity knows no loyalty tests.

This year's good harvest has enabled the Soviet Union to export grain again, and, unlike the Marshall Plan, no dollar expenditures are needed for this market, nor any ideological conformity.

Return trip. The British mission headed by the youthful president of the Board of Trade, Harold Wilson, probably commands the most interest, for this is its second trip. Initial negotiations were broken off last July, primarily because the British couldn't guarantee delivery rates for goods the Russians wanted, and the 6.5 million tons of grain which were offered over a four-year period were put back in the bin.

At the time, British behavior seemed odd. Wilson in Moscow and Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin in London appeared to be at cross purposes. The Foreign Office inspired one contradictory report after another about the negotiations, all calculated to show that you couldn't do business with the Russians. First it was said the price asked was higher than the Canadian, and thus too high to pay. Then it was said too much convertible currency was demanded.

When Wilson returned home, he made it appear that the differences over the revision of the 1941 credit agreement—involving a relatively insignificant sum—were the major cause for the breakdown.

It is now admitted even in London that Britain's failure to guarantee deliveries was the reason for suspending the talks and that, therefore, it was British inadequacy, not Russian intransigence, that was at fault. While Wilson's return to Moscow is generally laid to Sir Stafford Cripps, it is more likely the doing of Konni Zilliacus and other Left Laborites.

But things have changed since Wilson last talked to A. I. Mokoyan, Minister of Foreign Trade. Before the West decided to come to Moscow, the East had already been there, making hay while the Marshall Plan conference in Paris was making charts, so there isn't as much grain available as there was in July. Czechoslovakia is to get twice as much as the 200,000 tons originally contracted for. Finland has just received her full next year's supply. For the first time Sweden is seeking wheat, and France wants 300,000 tons.

Furthermore, the price of wheat has gone up in Chicago, Winnipeg and Buenos Aires. The Russians can probably quote a lower figure, but it is bound to be higher than six months ago.

On the other hand, Britain is not asking so much this time, thanks to Australia's bumper crop.

Realpolitik. None the less the British can get a favorable agreement here provided they can guarantee deliveries of industrial goods. The fact that they have come back and the talks have been resumed with the understanding that the British government will take the steps of allocation and enforcement needed to do this, suggests that someone back home has finally become realistic. All that can be said is that it's about time. Perhaps Europe is beginning to act like Europe again.

Alexander Kendrick is the Chicago Sun-Times' Moscow correspondent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY WALLACE

Palestine: The UN's Great Test

HISTORY will record November 29, 1947, as either the birth or death of a strong UN and a vital Palestine. Palestine and the UN will go up or down together. The statement can be made much stronger. From now on, the UN, the USSR, the US, the British, the Jews and the Arabs are tied together in a drama which can end in degeneration and death or in coöperation between the participants.

The Arab extremists must not have their way. Refusal of the Arabs to trade with the Jewish community and to coöperate with the new Jewish state in developing water, power and mineral resources will hold the Arab masses in subjection to their ancient exploiters. If this bondage is not broken by coöperation of Jew and Arab to raise the standard of living of both peoples, the end result will be violent revolution in the Arab lands and new chaos in the Middle East. The great powers cannot afford such a development.

For 1,000 years time stood still in the Middle East. Then, a quarter of a century ago, five new Arab states were carved out of the Turkish Empire by British and French maneuvering. In 1939 the British created a sixth Arab state, Transjordan, which was given its "independence" a year and a half ago. Outside of the Jewish Haganah, the Transjordan troops of King Abdullah, British-trained and British-armed, are the only formidable fighting force in the Middle East. On King Abdullah more than on any other single individual rests the responsibility for leading the Arabs into coöperation with the modern world. If he takes the broad point of view and joins with the Jews, the US and the UN in a planned program for developing the Jordan River for the benefit of both Jew and Arab, time will begin to move with giant steps in the Near East and the boon to the Arabs will be fully as great as to the Jews.

Transjordan and Arab Palestine, without outside capital and isolated from trade and coöperation with Jewish Palestine, will degenerate into a miserable, half-starved existence even lower than that elsewhere in the Arab world. Working wholeheartedly with the Jews and the UN, the Arab peoples can get the financing necessary to make the Middle East one of the dynamic parts of the world, first in agriculture and then in industry and trade. For each million the Jews increase in population as a result of irrigation, development of water power and the application of modern technology, the Arabs of the Middle East will increase three to four million. But everything depends on the substitution of coöperation and planning for hostile rivalry.

Political partition was a practical step at this time, but economic partition, as a glance at the map shows, is impractical. There must be the closest economic unity. For example, the Palestine Potash Company has two plants, one at the north end of the Dead Sea in Arab territory and another at the south end in Jewish territory. The working force of 1,400 is just about evenly divided between Arabs and Jews, with Jews and Arabs in both plants. The potash produced in the south is transported by barges to the northern plant. The Potash Company pays royalties to Abdullah and dividends to Jewish stockholders. Its product is shipped by truck from the plant in Arab territory to the international city of Jerusalem and then to Haifa, in Jewish territory, for export. With the tremendous imports required to sustain these peoples, exports are a matter of life or death to Palestine and potash is the biggest exportable item.

An even more important example is the development of water resources for power and irrigation. Palestine, after all, is poor in natural resources, and in Palestine and in Transjordan, the development of Jordan River water, particularly in the second and third stages, is entirely dependent upon Arab-Jewish coöperation. The sources of the river rise in both territories, and the water must flow through both territories if it is to be used at all.

During the year 1948 a great deal will depend on the vision and the courage of five men appointed by the UN to carry out the partition plan—the Bolivian, Czech, Filipino, Dane and Panamanian. Theirs will be the responsibility of naming a strong administrator who can transfer power and be firm with Arabs and Jews, keeping in mind always the supreme need of economic coöperation between the two sovereign states. These men must be devoted to the task of building mutual understanding. The negative approach of inciting differences has passed, but it will require more than neutrality in settling differences. There must be a positive drive to promote mutual trust.

Some Arab political leaders will do their best to stir up antagonisms and will talk about a holy war, but in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the long run common sense will prevail, provided the UN is prepared to step in with a vigorous administration during the transition period.

The UN must also take immediate effective action on control of the enclave of Jerusalem. There can be no long delay, as in the case of Trieste, in selecting a governor. The seeds of trouble can be found in Jerusalem and we must be spared the cries for armed intervention to protect holy places from rioters.

At the risk of repetition I ask every reader, Jewish and Christian, who is interested in the future of both the new state of Judea and of Arab Palestine to consider the priorities and essentials of economic development. Provision must be made in Judea for a sound economic base for at least one million more people. Until Arab coöperation has been obtained, the number-one place to put capital to work fruitfully is in bringing irrigation to the Esdraelon Valley in the north and a coastal plain in the west. Six hundred thousand acres already being farmed in the north and west can have their productivity multiplied several times if a planned job is done of creating reservoirs, sinking wells and digging canals.

But no matter what great strides in development are made in the north and west, they will not be enough. Again I come back to the south, to the Negev, where the rainfall is only one-fourth what it is in the north.

Here, nothing is possible without irrigation. Here, irrigation up to a total of perhaps 60,000 acres is possible even without Arab aid. But with coöperation, a probable total of 460,000 acres can be brought under water. The extra 400,000 acres are vital.

One of the greatest contributions of Franklin Roosevelt was to make people "river-valley" minded. Every Judean, every Palestinian Arab, every Transjordanian must of necessity think in terms of the Jordan River. For a short distance it flows in the north exclusively through Jewish territory, and finally through exclusively Arab territory.

It will take at least half a billion dollars to put the Jordan River fully to work. When they are sovereign nations, Judea, Arab Palestine and Transjordan will be eligible to join the World Bank and apply to it for development loans. All three of them should be partners in the borrowing of money for the planned development of the Jordan Valley.

If the Arabs will begin to devote more energy to thinking economically and less to thinking politically, they will astonish the world with their speed of progress. It would not surprise me if King Abdullah took over Arab Palestine. The two countries really belong together and can best be developed economically if they are governed together. If King Abdullah does this in a way that demonstrates he can keep peace in the Near East, he will go down in history as one of the world's great benefactors.

After the political shouting has died down and both the Palestinian Arabs and the Jews find they still have the problem of working for a living, I can't help thinking that the two sovereign states, tied together economically by the Majority Plan of the UN, will find it possible to plan together vigorously for their common needs. At the present rate of population increase among both the Arabs and Jews, there will be great misery if prompt action is not taken to develop the power and water resources of the River Jordan. It is to be hoped that wise Jewish leaders will not shelve plans for JVA development because of momentary political difficulties. It will require some such economic cement to change the political picture in the area.

The problem of Jewish immigration must be met at once. The Jews in the DP camps who want to go to Palestine must have immediate consideration. I hope that the British will move as speedily as possible to transfer the Jews detained on Cyprus.

When the news came of the passage of the resolution I thought first, because it was a personal experience, of the young people in the preparatory Kibutzim whom I visited six weeks ago outside Rome. I wish I could have been with them when the joyous tidings came, and I hope even more to visit some of them when they finally get settled in Palestine. The hope engendered by passage of the resolution must not be quelled by delays in implementing immigration.

The resolution on Palestine is the most important act achieved by the UN. It may remain as a resolution only, or it may become the means of a new life for millions of people. That depends on the importance we give to the UN. If the great powers which dominate the UN mean what they say, they will give to the resolution the full weight of their economic, political and, if necessary, military power. If they withhold support, civil war could result and the UN might fail.

In world diplomacy today the UN is second to power politics. For that reason the UN has failed for 14 months to appoint a governor for Trieste. Jerusalem, which is governed by the UN, is certainly a far more strategic area than Trieste. If Palestine is subjected to the same kind of power politics, warfare may follow as Arabs and Jews pay the price of world disunity.

Our responsibility for Palestine has not ended; it has only begun. The future of the new states rests with the UN and the great powers. The resolution is a start, not the finish. H. W.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMUNICATIONS REVOLUTION

Petrillo's record ban and the Typographers' strike fit into the pattern of an industry facing job-shaking changes

by Thomas Whiteside

FOR A NICKEL, the American jukebox not only plays music, but also glows, bubbles and changes color. At the present time, the crowned heads of the jukebox industry are undergoing not dissimilar facial transformations. The cause of their choler is the decision of James C. Petrillo's American Federation of Musicians (AFL) to stop making recordings after December 31, when Petrillo's present contracts with the recording companies expire. Without new records, the country's 600,000 jukeboxes gradually will be silenced—a severe blow not only to the high schools of America but to the whole complex jukebox economy, from Wurlitzer Hall to Joe's Diner.

But important though it be, the dislocation of this jumping $300 million business is symptomatic of a technological crisis now spreading through the entire communications industry, from music and radio to photoengraving and typesetting. For the public, the revolutionary new techniques will open an era in which, for instance, newspapers will be circulated by radio and in which common mail may be carried electronically by a special television process. But for the 500,000 people now employed in the mass-communications industry, these same techniques will mean widespread unemployment and the need to turn to entirely new skills.

Perhaps the most widely heralded indication of this looming crisis, and one which will be used here as the first of several examples, has been the dire predicament of James C. Petrillo.

In the current American language, the very word Petrillo has become so enriched with connotations as to be used to frighten small children. Petrillo himself is comparatively oblivious to the catalogue of abuse which has been compiled by the press to describe his motivations. He sees only one problem, overwhelming and immediate: the job protection of his 225,000 union members. He sees no reason why he should encourage the development of a system whereby a musician is replaced by a lump of wax.

This stern philosophy has previously led him to prohibit—in the absence of what he considered proper pay—the services of his musicians over two efficient and rapidly expanding media of communication, FM and television. His decision to ban the making of new recordings by members of his union will cost him dearly. In the first place, his 6,000 recording artists stand to lose $5 million annually in wages. Second, Petrillo's union will lose a considerable part of record royalties previously paid into his $2 million annual welfare fund. (The latter loss, however, is directly due to the Taft-Hartley Act, which prohibits employer contributions to union welfare funds except under conditions unacceptable to most self-respecting unions.) Petrillo's long-range risk is more serious, for the sale of records in America has had much to do with the growing American appetite for music, good and otherwise.

Such over-all considerations, however, have little effect on Petrillo, or many another union leader in a similar spot. Petrillo intends to maintain full, profitable employment for what he fondly calls "my boys," even if the process involves a fight against new technology. Under present conditions, there are simply too many musicians for available jobs. Petrillo himself recently predicted that unless a halt were called on recordings, the phonograph needle would gouge many thousands of musicians out of the industry within a few months.

But the ups and downs of the man with the fiddle in the worn black case affect a whole industrial complex which he can hardly oversee. In point of fact, Petrillo's decision to stop recordings may save the jobs of many musicians, but it will also probably affect the livelihood of some thousands of people in the recording and related companies, many of them war-born. A shortage of recordings could cut into the radio-phonograph industry, the 12,000 record shops now existing in the country and, to some extent, the plastics industry.

Petrillo and FM. In view of Petrillo's insistence on "live" performances by his musicians, his recent decision to prohibit the duplication of network programs on FM stations is looked on by many FM broadcasters as a technique of cutting off his nose to spite his face. The more forward-looking of the FM broadcasters, who realize that they have a medium ideally suited for operation by the small businessman, argue that if Petrillo helped FM, he would also help break up the quasi-monopoly now enjoyed by the major conventional radio networks. They point out that the development of FM—there are currently about 350 FM stations on the air—will also mean the employment of more musicians.

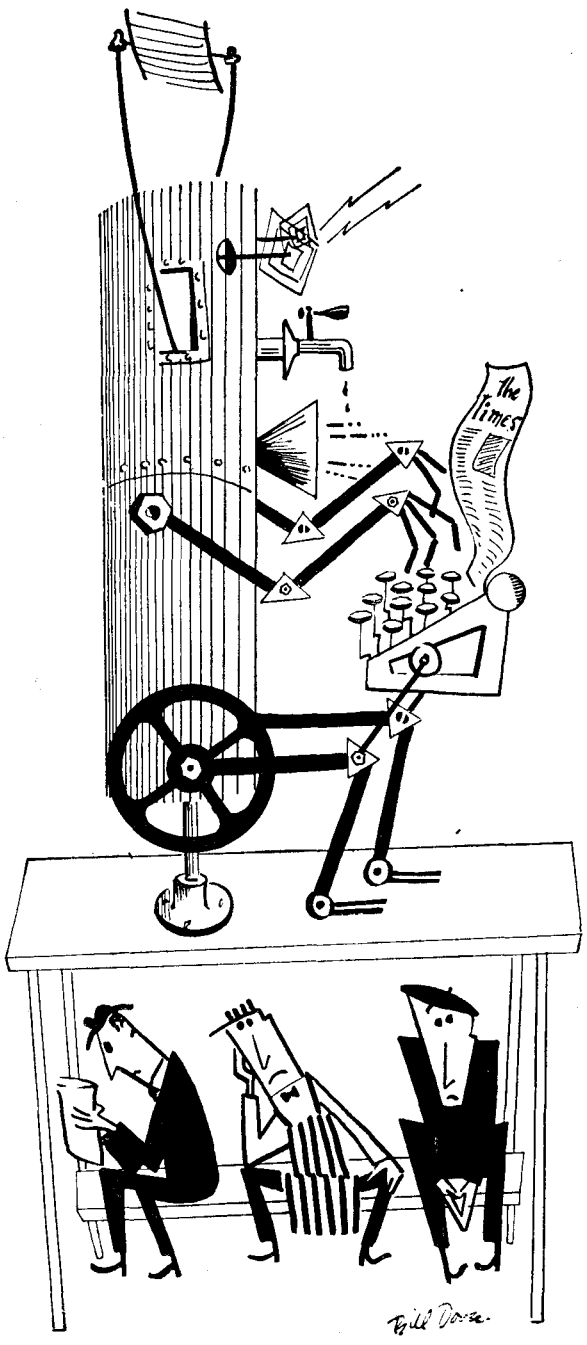
At present, the structure of AM, or

DRAWINGS BY BILL DOYE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conventional radio, with its imperial system of high-powered, unobstructed, clear-channel stations, makes the creation of further national AM networks, and thus the employment of additional staffs, a virtual impossibility. The introduction of FM, the wonder medium of staticless, high-fidelity radio transmission, opens the door for the building of as many as 3,000 new radio stations in the country, and possibly 20 new networks employing some 50,000 people. More important, it gives the listener new opportunities to hear kinds of programs seldom broadcast by the conventional networks.

The opportunity for employment of many hundreds by promoting classical music over FM is a good example. The grand vizier of conventional radio, Hooper, to whom all account executives bow low, so far has given the big networks a discouraging report on classical music. Beethoven's Hooper is not generally high enough to warrant serious consideration by such determinants of popular culture as the makers of Ex-Lax, Kix or Serutan, even were his name to be spelled backwards. Numerically, however, the audience for good music is large. Within two or three years it would be economically quite feasible for an enterprising group to establish an FM network specializing in classical-music broadcasts.



FM broadcasters point out that there are many other minority interests which can be reached, to the profit of public and musicians alike, by the new medium. But the entire development of FM is now being retarded by the fight between Petrillo and the networks. Apparently Petrillo feels that too many FM frequencies have been grabbed up by conventional radio interests and that to allow his musicians to broadcast over FM would in effect strengthen the power of his network enemies. Unfortunately, the FM groups to suffer will not be the wealthy, entrenched interests but the groups of veterans who have ventured into FM with high hopes and slim purses. According to the Frequency Modulation Association, 95 percent of all FM stations are losing money. Well established AM stations can afford to operate their FM outlets at a loss. The small, independent operators, on the other hand, who find themselves completely at the mercy of "the natural flow of economic forces," are bitter at what they consider Petrillo's shortsightedness in failing to consider their problems and, in the long haul, his own.

Old versus new. But the Petrillo affair is only the beginning of the kind of strife into which the entire communications industry is likely to be forced as a technological revolution sweeps in. Every industry in America, of course, faces dislocations of employment and of skills as new labor-saving machinery is invented and produced. But the communications industry has a status and importance peculiarly its own in that it carries or produces not mere goods but the words and symbols on which a democratic people heavily relies for its social and political decisions.

If an iceman discourages trade in refrigerators, the housewife along his route will suffer, at worst, inconvenience. But if a printers' union blocks a new system of printing without linotype machines, it may deprive hundreds of small towns of a cheap, efficient and hitherto unavailable news service.

Almost every facet of the communications industry is facing just this kind of problem. An inkling of developments around the corner came to the public eye in the recent strike of the Chicago Typographical Union against six Chicago newspapers over conditions of employment. A few years ago a similar strike would have completely crippled the newspapers. Actually, as the strike progressed, newspaper circulation in Chicago was scarcely affected. The newspapers called in batteries of office girls who typed out the news columns on ordinary paper. The typed sheets were pasted together and photo-engraved without need of linotype operators.

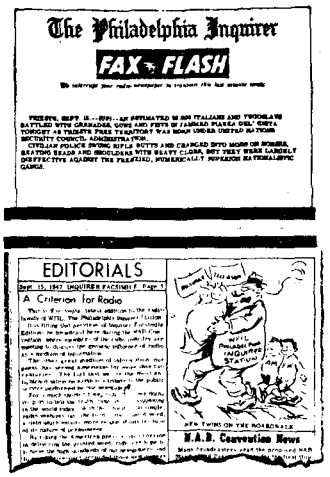
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A similar system has been employed for several months by John H. Perry (see the *NR*, November 17) to produce some of the newspapers in his Florida chain. Perry by-passes the linotyping and stereotyping processes by photo-engraving and the use of self-justifying typewriters, which space out an even, full line. Perry also uses girl typists rather than linotype operators. The finished photo-engraved newspaper differs little in appearance from the standard product. There is not the slightest doubt that the extension of this new, cheap and efficient printing system would cause widespread unemployment among linotype operators.

Teletype and facsimile. The linotypists face considerable trouble, too, in the introduction of the teletypesetting machine, which automatically sets type by remote control from a master machine many miles away. In a newspaper chain, for example, every teletypesetting machine installed will tend to replace a linotype operator. Another threat to the typographical unions comes from the rapid development of facsimile reproduction, familiar to all newspaper readers in the form of wirephotos. The potential achievements of facsimile were dramatically shown in the spring of 1945, when the New York *Times* facsimiled special editions by wire to the West Coast during the San Francisco Conference. Again the basic process was photo-engraving. The typographical unions are expected to fight hard against the spreading of the facsimile system.

As a hedge against unemployment, the International Typographical Union recently appropriated a rumored $500,000 to found and operate its own newspapers, thereby providing work for linotype operators displaced by new processes. Meanwhile, it evidently intends to fight development of the facsimile system. Many employers are jittery about using facsimile for fear of offending the powerful printing unions.

An example of this nervousness can be seen in the printing of stock-market reports in three Eastern newspapers. Normally, these stock-market reports


The Philadelphia Inquirer

FAX-FLASH

EDITORIALS

A Criterion for Radio

N.A.B. Convention News

AIR-WAVE EDITION OF PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER AS RECEIVED IN HOME RADIO-FACSIMILE SET

arrive in the form of tape, which has to be retyped by girls before being sent to the composing room. This retyping process involves incredibly tedious work and a high percentage of error. To reduce errors, an organization specializing in facsimile suggested that the original texts be facsimiled into the newspaper office by coaxial cable. The facsimile text, it proposed, could then be photo-engraved for insertion in the newspaper without passing through the intermediary stages of copying and linotyping. The companies involved refused even to consider the possibility on the grounds of possible hostility from the unions.

Understandable though the union position is in a situation like this, the fact remains that retarding the development of facsimile will also retard new kinds of employment. Wired facsimile, for instance, is likely to be followed by radio-borne facsimile. Then the owner of a facsimile set could receive printed spot news and features in his own home merely by tuning in to his local radio station. Commercial facsimile is already due to start by the beginning of the year, when 15 of the country's leading papers will begin transmitting newspapers by radio. Within a few years, the number of participating stations may run into the hundreds, with appropriate increase in demand for news staffs and skilled groups to handle the self-justifying typewriters on which facsimile news copy will be set.

Television boom. An even greater promise of new employment is offered by television, now entering a boom period. One television official estimates that within five years the television industry will provide jobs for 300,000 people. Assuming a total use of five million television sets in that period, he estimates that television maintenance, installation and service would bring work to some 85,000—or three times the number of radio service workers employed today, while "at the end of the first full television year the dollar volume of replacement parts would reach an annual figure of $220 million."

Another television executive predicted that television will be doing a business involving $6 billion in capital investments, or more than double the total capital invested today in the motion-picture industry. Whether or not these estimates are over-optimistic, they give a good indication of extremely rapid television expansion. Television officials expect immediate demand for new skills. There are very firm indications, for example, that the wire services, such as the Associated Press and the United Press, will barge into the field of television news coverage. The AP already has begun a television newsreel service for broadcast over Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York television stations. There are also indications that major papers will take steps to begin their own newspaper television networks.

Video networks. Opening of micro-wave relay stations between New York and Boston to carry television programs marks the start of a nationwide micro-wave network. Such a network will throw wide the the radio spectrum to almost every conceivable type of communication. The invention of a new technique of broadcasting, known as Pulse-Time Modulation, will allow dozens of programs to be carried on the same radio frequency simultaneously. It will mean that perhaps within 15 years an Iowa farmer may tune in his radio to choose not one, but any of 20 AM, FM or television programs relayed simultaneously over

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his local radio station. Yet within the same period, Pulse-Time Modulation may also reduce almost to obsolescence the standard land-line telephone system used today, and thus dislocate thousands of conventional telephone workers.

The development of another new device for radio transmission, known as Ultrafax and combining the principles of television and motion-picture photography, brings possibilities for the transmission of written material at the extraordinary rate of a million words a minute. Should Ultrafax live up to its potentialities as shown in laboratory tests, it could revolutionize the whole post-office system by making possible a vast electronic V-mail service.

Promise and threat. Such is the promise—and to unions, the threat—of new means of mass communication in the coming era. The transition will be hard, perhaps chaotic. Realization of the revolutionary nature of the devices involved is causing a good deal of speculation by labor specialists in the industry as to the manner in which orderly progress into the new technological age will be made. Some of them feel that it is time for the formation of an over-all commission composed of every segment of the communications industry and of government.

Such a commission, they believe, should provide the facilities to teach workers thrown out of jobs by one machine to use another, to provide proper unemployment relief for those no longer employable and to steer young workers into the most rapidly expanding fields of employment within the industry.

"A man is apt to get pretty mad when he sees a mechanical man moving in alongside him in a shop," remarked a communications unionist. "If government and industry can sit down with us and look at the problem as a long-range one, then particularize and help us straighten this thing out in an orderly way, the workers, the industry and the public are going to be a lot better off, and a lot sooner."

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S GOSSIP MILL . .

DIRECTOR of the Federal Bureau of Investigation J. Edgar Hoover is one of the half-dozen most influential men in Washington. The relatively insignificant steps (in terms, say, of Nazi Germany) which the US has already taken in the direction of a police state have been sufficient to place this supercop in a position where he can seriously harm almost anyone in the land without using legal channels.

Hoover has achieved this status largely through the efforts of others. Until shortly before the war, the FBI was a highly respected police corps which dealt efficiently with violations of federal law. But the wartime necessity of keeping persons of dubious connections out of posts of responsibility projected G-men into fields for which they had no training. The politically and ideologically unsophisticated cop just floundered hopelessly when given the task of checking an individual for Americanism, a concept which no one has yet defined to the satisfaction of anyone but himself.

The result was the collection of a vast amount of gossip, backbiting, knife-throwing, grudge-paying, hearsay and trivia in the FBI files. The "responsible" (*i. e.,* well-to-do, conservative) citizens whom the G-men consulted planted on them a lot of anti-labor, anti-Roosevelt, anti-Russian pap carefully catalogued as "evidence."

Not funny. All this might have been merely ludicrous if Congress and the Administration had not provided Hoover with an outlet for his material. Committees and members on the floor began to use FBI "evidence," thereby lending it the great authority of Congress and making it unanswerable. The Administration, with its loyalty program, gave it additional standing by making it decisive in the life of every federal employee.

Things have reached such a point that Hoover's files are a highly respected (and feared) *éminence grise* hanging not only over Washington but over the head of every American. Few have the courage to fight back, and even fewer have the material to do it effectively. That is why the controversy, now unfolding in Washington, between Clifford J. Durr, a commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, and Hoover is of such absorbing interest.

It came about this way. On October 26, Durr made a speech in Chicago saying that the FBI was passing around to federal agencies "information" which they had not asked for and which was largely "baseless gossip." This was carried briefly in some newspapers, but caused no particular stir. On November 18, Marquis Childs repeated Durr's charge in his nationally syndicated column and placed it in the context of the current wave of Red hysteria and growing disregard for the normal processes of law.

Disavowal. At this point Hoover cracked the whip. He wrote the FCC a huffy letter saying that since the other commissioners had not repudiated Durr, he assumed that the FCC did not want his data and no more would be sent. The idea that any responsible government agency should not regard the reception of this material as a great and weighty privilege so shocked the other commissioners that they quickly wrote Hoover a letter disavowing Durr, begging Hoover to resume his valuable service.

All this was dutifully recorded by the press. But what few newspaper readers were able to find where Durr's remarks, made at what had evidently been an acrimonious FCC session. His comment at Chicago had not been baseless gossip, and he put into the FCC minutes substantiating evidence which, if given the klieg-light treatment of a J. Parnell Thomas production, would strip Hoover's innuendo mill of all public respect.

Durr, an Alabama lawyer whose exceptional ability President Roosevelt recognized in making him head of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An FCC Official Speaks Out Boldly

— by Jan Hasbrouck

vital Defense Plant Corporation at the age of 41, not only demolished the standing of FBI "evidence" on ideological questions, but gave a valuable insight into its thought processes and growing disregard for legal practice.

First, he pointed out that FCC "decisions must be based on substantiated, relevant facts, and not upon gossip or rumor or non-expert personal opinions on political, economic or social philosophies." He then made what seemed an almost quaint reference to an outmoded past: "As a matter of law, the commission may not deny a broadcast license to anyone except after a public hearing and upon the basis of the record made in such a hearing." He further reminded his FCC colleagues and Hoover that:

- Decisions cannot be made on information not in the record.
- Information must be relevant and in a form appropriate for the record, or provide leads from which valid information can be derived.
- Information must be presented under oath by qualified witnesses.
- The witnesses must be subject to cross-examination.

Durr then proceeded to document his conviction that Hoover's information could not stand this old-fashioned American treatment. He said:

It therefore seems to me that it is of little help to the commission to be informed that an applicant was, in 1944, at the height of the war, reported by an unidentified source as being in contact with another unidentified individual "who was *suspected* of *possible* pro-Russian activity";

Or that the applicant was reported by an unidentified informant to have been a visitor in the residence of another individual who was reported by another unidentified source to have been identified by still another unidentified source with Communistic activities;

Or that, it has been reported by an unidentified source that several members of the board of directors of an organization with which the applicant is connected have been reported by another unidentified source as being associated with the Communist movement;

Or that "according to an unknown outside source," the name of the applicant "appears" as a member of a committee of an organnization of artists and professional people which was active in support of the Democratic presidential nominee in the 1944 presidential elections;

Or that another unidentified source has described such organization "as a Communist infiltrated and/or influenced organization";

Or that another organization politically active in support of the Democratic presidential nominee "has been reportedly subjected to Communist infiltration";

Or that one of our national associations of lawyers has been referred to by another unidentified source as being under Communist influence;

Or that an unidentified "reliable source" has provided a reprint of an article written by the applicant and originally carried in the *New Republic,* which article "is reported to be an indictment of anti-labor radio broadcasts, including news commentators and sponsors of such programs";

Or that a local Democratic committee has been reported by an unidentified informant "to be under the influence of the Communist element";

Or that, according to a newspaper account of a political speech delivered by vice-presidential candidate Bricker in the 1944 campaign, the speaker charged that the Democratic Party had become the "Hillman-Browder Communistic Party" and that the applicant had left his job with the government to support the campaign of President Roosevelt, the founder of this "Communistic Party";

Or that the applicant has been reported by an unidentified source to have been a member of the committee to greet the late president of a large labor union;

Or that an applicant spoke at a testimonial dinner for the retiring president of a lawyers' organization;

Or that the applicant spoke on a forum on American-Russian Cultural Exchange sponsored by Phi Beta Kappa.

CLIFFORD J. DURR

Down to earth. Durr appended this footnote: "Even if anonymous 'information' of this kind were relevant, the commission would not know where to turn to locate the unnamed persons, and unidentified sources, so that they might be subpoenaed and their testimony produced in an open hearing under oath and subject to cross-examination. It is certainly not sufficient for the admissibility of such anonymous information to be informed by the FBI that some of the sources are believed to be reliable."

Finally, Durr brought the whole thing down to earth by suggesting that the FBI go back to catching crooks, as it is supposed to do:

"I have no basis for questioning in any way the efficiency or dependability of FBI investigations of kidnaping, Mann Act violations, or other violations of federal laws. . . . The reports to which I have referred, however, do not contain any suggestion that the individuals therein described have violated any federal laws, nor is there any indication that the information submitted was the by-product of an investigation of illegal activities.

"In times of heightened social and political tensions, I believe there is a particularly grave obligation on those in positions to pass judgment to be doubly sure of the basis upon which their judgments rest."

Postscript. Durr's appointment to the FCC expires next June. Washington forecasters doubt that he will be reappointed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COLD POGROM

Prejudice is often the determining factor when some Americans select their homes, their vacations and even their jobs

by Bruce Bliven

This is the fifth in a series of articles on the growing anti-Semitism in the US.

NOT LONG AGO, in New York City, the following telephone conversation took place, in substantially the same words, 107 times:

"Hello! Blank Employment Bureau?"

"That's right."

"I want to hire a secretary. Can you send me some applicants?"

"Certainly."

"You understand, I will consider white Protestant applicants only."

"Yes, sir. That will be quite all right."

New York State has a law forbidding discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color. Yet, when representatives of the American Jewish Congress made the above test call to 121 white-collar employment agencies, 107 of the answers expressed a readiness to discriminate and thus to violate the law.

The cold pogrom of the middle class against Jews and other members of minority groups is particularly effective in three fields: in restrictions on the right to work, opportunities for recreation, and limitations on places to live. Let me take them up in order.

"Token" Jews. There is a tacit boycott to keep the Jew from entering any one of many types of business. ("The only occupation open to the Jew without resistance," Rabbi Stephen Wise once said, "is the rabbinical profession.") Even in industries that are not wholly closed, there are thousands of individual firms that decline to employ Jews at all, or that hire one or two "token" Jews for the sake of appearances—in case, I suppose, they should want to sell their goods or services to an important Jewish customer.

A careful study made not long ago in Chicago showed that about 40 percent of the positions in business houses were closed to "non-Aryans." There is no reason to believe that Chicago is either better or worse than the rest of the country. Except in states where the practice is forbidden by law, 90 percent of employment agencies require applicants to state their religion; in many of these agencies the cards of Jewish applicants are kept in a separate file and these persons are never sent to be interviewed by a prospective employer unless he has especially asked for Jewish help—which few ever do.

In a specified period in 1946, one-quarter of those seeking workers through the US Employment Service in 11 areas demanded a particular "race," citizenship, religion, or some combination of them.

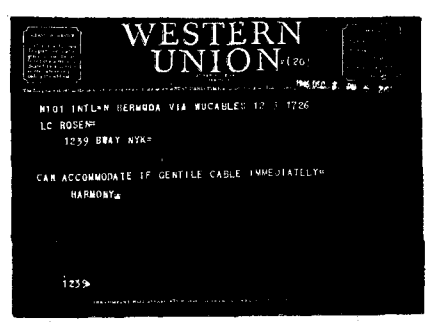
In times of prosperity and full employment, of course, those who are hiring workers cannot afford to be too arbitrary. But when depression strikes, it is an axiom that members of minorities are last to be hired, first to be fired and are often forced to do equal work for less pay.

During the first year of the new law in New York, mentioned above, there were 477 cases in which discrimination by employers or potential employers was charged. Of these roughly one-third involved "religion or national origin," which in most instances means anti-Semitism. The majority of the remainder involved anti-Negro bias.

There are whole industries in which the proportion of Jews is far smaller than would be expected on a basis of their numbers in relation to the total population in the given community. While it is possible to argue that for reasons of their own, Jews abstain from entering these occupations in large numbers, there is evidence that this is not the case and that these industries by tacit consent restrict the employment of Jews. For example, certain insurance companies which had only five or six percent of Jews among their office workers insisted that the reason for this was the reluctance of Jews to do such work. At that moment, however, 50 or 60 percent of the employees of a Jewish-owned insurance company were Jews who were doing the same type of work for the same pay.

An exhaustive survey in *Fortune* shortly before the beginning of the Second World War reported that there were then few Jewish employees among some of the biggest banks, including the National City Bank, the Guaranty Trust Company, Central Hanover, First National, Chase, and Bankers' Trust. The *Fortune* survey reported that there were very few Jews in coal, rubber, petroleum, chemicals, maritime shipping, transportation, shipbuilding and interstate bus transportation, and somewhat more, but not many, in electric power, the telephone and telegraph industries, engineering, heavy machinery, lumber and dairy products.

Industrial roll call. I have also been told of discriminatory employment practices in one of the largest chemical manufacturing firms; a big producer of building materials; a large mail-order establishment; a national retail chain; one of the chief plastic firms; a nationally known shoe manufacturer; one of the biggest machine-tool suppliers; an important manufacturer of heating and plumbing equipment; a manufacturer of heavy electrical equipment; and producers of kitchen equipment, glass products, food, steel, insulated copper wire, rub-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ber products, knives and surgical equipment and aluminum products.

I have before me a list of some of the leading advertising agencies in the country, each of which employs only one or two "token" Jews, or none. Similar discrimination exists in certain instances in book publishing, insurance and architecture.

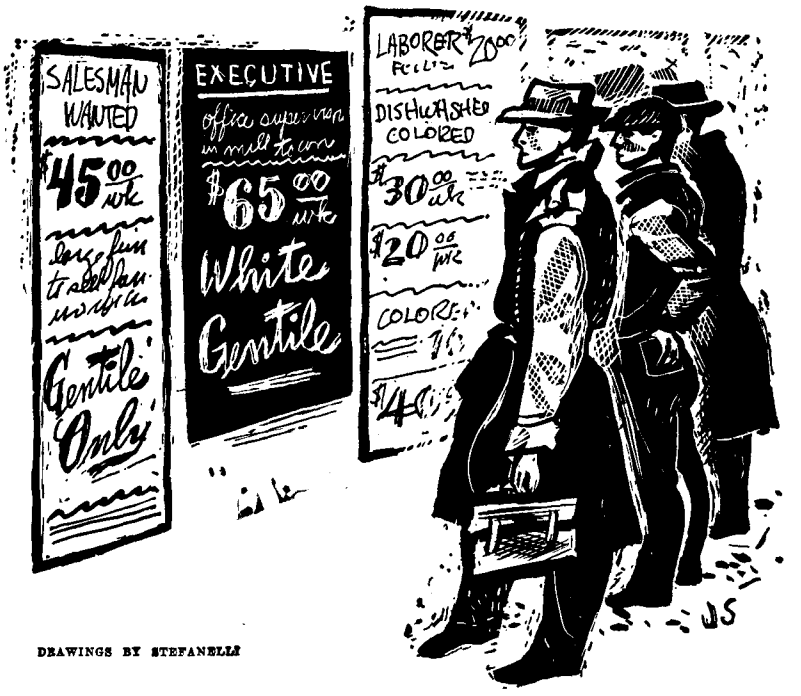
I come now to that aspect of the cold pogrom of the middle class which is probably the most familiar of all—social discrimination against minority groups in clubs, hotels, resorts and in residential communities.

Some time ago, the American Jewish Congress sent duplicate letters with Gentile and Jewish names to 20 summer-resort hotels; the Gentile signature got cordial replies in every case, most of them offering accommodations. Seventeen of the hotels did not answer the Jewish applicant at all; two others said they had no vacancies, although the same two had written the contrary to the Gentile signatures. Only one of the 20 hotels wrote favorably to the Jewish name.

They admit it. I have seen documents from 170 hotels (several of which call themselves clubs) frankly admitting that discrimination is practised. These documents consist of letters written to prospective guests, or pamphlets or newspaper advertisements. The majority of them use an equivocal phrase such as "near Christian churches," but some of them are more frank. A substantial proportion openly use one or more of the words "Christian" or "Gentile" or "restricted" or "Protestant."

In view of the fact that such material has been circulated in New York State, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has collected a number of instances of this type of advertising and referred them to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, which in turn has passed them on to the appropriate authorities for possible action.

Many other cases of a similar character have been published from time to time or are a matter of common knowledge. Before passage of the New York State law, the Lake Placid Club at Lake Placid, New York, actually a hotel despite its name, was considered to be one which did not knowingly accept Jewish guests. The same allegation has been made regarding the Royal Poinciana Hotel, Palm Beach, Florida.



DRAWINGS BY STEFANELLI

It is generally believed in New York City that the University Club accepts few Jews into its membership. Some years ago, the list of members of New York's Brook Club contained no identifiable Jewish names. At one time a leading member of the Masonic country club, at Briarcliff, New York, resigned in protest against what he said was its anti-Semitic policy. This list could readily be extended into the hundreds.

Closed doors. Those who defend the practices of the hotels always point out triumphantly that there are Jewish resort hotels which do not encourage Gentile guests. This sort of argument misses the whole point.

Nobody can object to a group of people of the same religion, or the same economic and social level, forming a club or a pseudo-club for common association. Strictly religious, orthodox Jews are often as clannish as strictly religious, orthodox Protestants or Catholics, and like to keep to themselves, socially. It is not surprising that even Jews not in this category insist on establishing, when so many doors are closed to them, their own facilities for recreation.

But the Gentile clubs and resorts which turn away all Jews or members of other minorities do so *without any consideration of the compatibility of the individual.* Almost never do they restrict their hospitality to members of any single Christian sect.

Neither is their attitude of exclusion based on the intellectual, cultural, social or economic level of the person they reject; they will refuse admission to Albert Einstein as readily as to anyone else. They reject arbitrarily on a basis of "race, nationality and religion," although the Jews were not a race even 2,000 years ago, and are not a nationality (except in a limited sense in Palestine), and although thousands of those excluded are not adherents of Judaism as a religion.

Even more serious in their total effects are the "restrictive covenants" in many parts of the country which forbid buyers of houses to resell them to members of minorities. Hardest hit by such restrictions are Negroes, but Jews and other groups are often excluded as well. In the past, courts in various states have upheld the validity of such restrictions. In other states, restrictions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on sale have been held unenforcible by law, but restrictions on occupancy have been deemed valid, so that a member of a minority may own a house in which he is forbidden to live.

Partly because of these restrictive covenants, it is difficult to assemble land for a large-scale housing project near any big city in the United States for occupancy by members of any minority group. Segregation, and the accompanying limitation of facilities, tend to create overcrowding, with its consequence of an increase in disease and crime rates. They also force the duplication of such facilities as schools, at needless expense to the community.

Are they constitutional? The US Supreme Court will rule in the near future on the constitutionality of these restrictive covenants, and its decision will be a momentous one. If the court should decide that such covenants are unconstitutional, they might still be possible as private agreements, but they would no longer have the sanction of law. We should remember, however, that probably not once in a hundred times are these covenants challenged in the courts, and that their deadliest effect comes in cases where nobody ever tries to upset them at all.

Out of scores of communities which maintain such restrictions, I will mention a typical few. A large part of Bronxville, New York, is closed to Jewish buyers of homes. The beautiful little pre-Revolutionary town of Litchfield, Connecticut, has had a similar policy. Restrictive covenants or similar provisions which bar Jews and other minorities are or have been in existence in the residential suburbs of Leawood Addition in Kansas City, Crestmoor in Denver, Beachwood in Cleveland, Roland Park in Baltimore, and in part of Roanoke, Virginia.

Widespread publicity was recently given to a case in Bannockburn, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, D.C. Under a restrictive covenant, an attempt was made to force out a government employee, Aaron Tushin, an examiner in the US Patent Office. His wife is a Gentile and the proposal was seriously made that only her husband should be compelled to move out; the legal action instituted said that his presence in the neighborhood caused "irreparable damage."

The Tushins say they were not notified of the existence of the covenant when they bought their house. Out of 52 families involved in the area under the covenant, only four were willing to sign the complaint in the suit (which has since been dropped). None of them, as it happens, is an immediate neighbor of the Tushins.

Fancier prejudices. The restrictive covenant at Bannockburn prohibits selling property to Negroes, Jews, Persians and Syrians. The Leawood Addition, near Kansas City, is fancier. The restrictive covenant, which was a part of the original deed in all purchases of land there, excluded "any person of Negro blood or any person who is more than one-fourth of the Semitic race, blood, origin or extraction, including without limitation in said designation Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Turks, Persians, Syrians and Arabians." The authors were canny, however. They hastily added, "excluding, however, from the application of this paragraph, partial occupancy by bona-fide domestic servants."

Other restrictive covenants have been made in various places against Italians, Mexicans, Poles, Chinese, Japanese, Malayans and East Indians. In Roanoke, the covenant forbade sale to anyone who did not observe the first day of the week as the Sabbath!

Challenge. Stuyvesant Town, a multi-family housing project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company on the lower East Side in New York City, has also been the subject of sharp criticism because of its policy of barring Negroes.

The land for Stuyvesant Town was acquired through condemnation proceedings by the city, and the builders are entitled to a 25-year exemption from real-estate taxation upon improvements, which in the long run will be worth millions of dollars. New York City has a law forbidding tax exemption to housing projects which discriminate among tenants on a basis of race, creed or color; the builders of Stuyvesant Town say their project was started before this law was passed. A suit is now pending to challenge this discrimination.

A striking recent development came in Minnesota, where the Building Trades Council of Minnesota and St. Paul, AFL, voted that its members should not work on the construction of houses if restrictions were to be applied to occupancy. I am sorry to say, however, that the state AFL failed to uphold the local group.

What are the causes of anti-Semitism? What sort of people develop anti-minority prejudice, and what can be done about them? These questions will be the subject of my next article.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

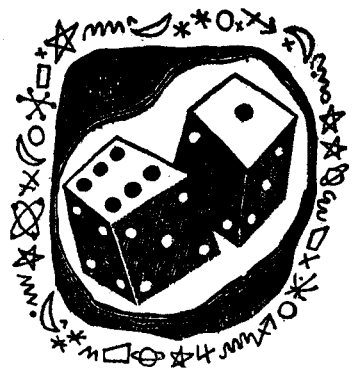
BOOKS IN REVIEW

MIND UNDER MATTER

by James R. Newman

IT MAY BE that the experimental work of J. B. Rhine in telepathy, clairvoyance, precognition (prophecy) and psychokinesis (effect of mind on matter) has produced the greatest scientific discovery of all times. The proposition seems doubtful if it rests on the case made in this book; but if his results are valid, science faces a dilemma, not to say a turn of irony, without parallel in the growth of organized knowledge. For Rhine's theories, if true, either demolish the conceptual framework of the physical world, or, more alarmingly, demonstrate grave flaws in the mathematical theory of probability, the cornerstone of modern scientific method. The twist of irony arises in the form of a historical coincidence.

The Reach of the Mind, by J. B. Rhine (William Sloane Associates; $3.50).



The theory of probability has its origins in a seventeenth-century exchange of letters between Blaise Pascal and the upright parliamentary town councillor, Pierre de Fermat, on a subject assuredly remote from their way of life—an assessment of the correct gambling odds in games of dice. Professor Rhine, with equally lofty motives, now advances his views also on the strength of experiments performed with dice and cards.

Despite the respectable precedent for his methods, I find myself reluctant to follow Dr. Rhine into the beyond.

"ESP" and "PK." For almost two decades Rhine and his associates have been running their experiments on "ESP" (extra-sensory perception) and "PK" (psychokinesis) at Duke University. During that period he has won disciples and been flattered by imitators, withstood jibes and criticism and defended his views in serious articles as well as semi-sensational books, of which this is the most recent.

His researches need not be described in detail, but they run something like this. Telepathy and clairvoyance, merged by Rhine into the single classification, extra-sensory perception, are investigated with an absurdly simple tool, a deck of 25 cards, each bearing one of five symbols: star, rectangle, cross, circle or wavy lines.

In the telepathy test, after the cards have been shuffled, the experimenter picks up the first and concentrates on its symbol; the subject, from whom all the cards are well concealed, is then asked to identify it. The process is repeated until the pack has been exhausted, this constituting a "run."

The clairvoyance test is similar except that the experimenter does not look at each successive card until *after* the subject has identified its symbol. Presumably, therefore, the experimenter cannot concentrate on the symbols and "send" telepathic messages to help the subject.

It turns out that the errors one must guard against are almost incalculable. In the clairvoyance test, for example, if the experimenter himself is fortunate enough to be *both* a clairvoyant and a telepath (I trust this is the right word), he can detect the symbols by clairvoyance and transmit them by telepathy. For that matter, since space is no barrier to ESP, any friend of the subject, anywhere in the world, could help him out, assuming the subject requires help on a day when his telepathic reception is good, but his clairvoyancing bad. Rhine has anticipated such contingencies and by different controls overcomes them.

ESP as supergod. What are the results of the tests? Each symbol is repeated five times in the deck of cards, and the random chance of a correct identification by guessing is therefore one out of five. According to the mathematical theory, the ratio of actual hits to total trial should converge more and more closely to the theoretical probability (one to five) as the number of trials increases. If a subject consistently turns in an average of six or seven correct symbol-identifications per run through a large number of trials, the scientist should suspect and begin to look for factors *other than chance* which may account for the deviation. If a man won repeatedly at poker, one might examine the cards or his sleeve; a pair of perennially happy dice should be inspected to discover whether they are loaded.

Rhine contends that the over-all results of his ESP tests with cards show such significant deviations from the values required by theory that the odds lie from 10,000 to a million against one that the correct identifications are due to chance alone. There must therefore be other forces at work,

DRAWINGS BY DOUG ANDERSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unsuspected "powers of the mind," which, he concludes without more ado, are the fabled twins, telepathy and clairvoyance.

But these phenomenal aspects of ESP by no means exhaust its powers. The tally of the cards has also persuaded Rhine that ESP penetrates the future as easily as it traverses the ocean. His experiments have convinced him that some subjects are as adept at predicting the order of a pack of cards to be arranged (by random shuffling) *at some time in the future* as others are in identifying symbols on cards already arranged. This function, which Rhine designates as "precognition," supports a pretty case for a naïve version of materialistic determinism, which, I had thought, had been quietly interred many decades ago.

Come seven. Finally, the book describes Rhine's triumph, to wit: the discovery of PK. This function "of the whole mind" consists of influencing the behavior of matter by resolute concentration—what used to be called, in homelier times, "will power," except that Rhine has here measured its effect on the fall of dice instead of investigating its more usual range of reflexive operations, such as abstention from women, pastry, alcohol, shoplifting, tobacco and cognate evils. Among the resemblances between PK and will power detected by Rhine and his associates are those relating to the stimulating effect of rewards. Not only

does a PK-er work much better when you give him a reward, but both ESP-ers and PK-ers turn into supermen when offered such inducements as "movie tickets" or "candy." On one lavish occasion, a young ESP-er named Lillian, transmogrified by a 50-cent bribe, "closed her eyes, talked to herself" and then crashed through with a *perfect clairvoyant score,* 25 hits in 25 cards.

One ultimate supersensation remains to be imparted, and Rhine is clearly the man to impart it. The final chapter, after roaming through Aldous Huxley, espionage via clairvoyance, man's misery and the atomic bomb, arrives at last to the topic of immortality, survival and the plausibility of "intercommunication [of] discarnate personalities." This I take to mean both the small talk of the dead ("Do you miss us, Aunt Clara?") and that dismal repertory of spiritualistic japes which Charles Peirce ascribed somewhat unkindly to the "remarkable stupidity of ghosts." One learns with interest that Dr. Rhine has an open mind on the subject and may, if he wraps up ESP, investigate it. He will in that event find it necessary to add slates to his present laboratory equipment of cards and dice.

Shock treatment. If Rhine hitherto has been a victim of neglect, or worse, this book is hardly likely to relieve his suffering. He may be acquitted of the charges of being a fool, a faker, or both, but in these writings he plainly convicts himself of being a credulous purveyor of old wives' tales and superstitious nonsense.

Over the years, he has achieved a number of results that cannot be readily explained on the basis of conventional psychology. Certain statisticians and mathematicians have examined some of his experiment scores and found them, from their standpoint, unobjectionable. Now this is no small achievement, and a patient, modest, persistent development of his methods might conceivably lead to important advances in psychology. But the achievement, and the applause, are too small for Rhine. It befits his temperament to make sensational generalizations and bizarre claims, in order to shock the scientific world to attention. He will not permit his experimental results to argue their own case; yet when he assumes the role of advocate, the effect is reminiscent of:

> But the judge said he never had summed up before
> So the snark undertook it instead
> And summed it so well that it came to far more
> Than the witnesses ever had said.

The jargon which Rhine and his school contribute to parapsychology endows this already doubtful subject with a suspicious flavor redolent of such disciplines as astrology, chiropractic and phrenology. My favorite example, taking precedence over psy-

chokinesis, the psi capacity and the psychic shuffle, is "telepathic dermographia." This is a term describing an affliction, or, viewed differently, perhaps a talent, possessed by "Madame Kahl of Paris" who had (and for all I know, still has) the "ability to reproduce on her arm or breast, in clear red outline, a figure or letter of which the experimenter was thinking."

The jargon of course seems highly appropriate for someone who suggests, seriously, for scientific purposes, the use of such instruments as "automatic writing . . . the Ouija board, or the divining rod." Rhine's justification for the proposal is in itself a revealing gem: "If we are dealing with unconscious processes, why not use unconscious responses to record the key impression and keep the whole process unconscious?" Why not, indeed!

Willing belief. It would be selfish to take leave of this review without a few examples from Rhine's collection of clairvoyant and ectoplasmic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chestnuts. No fable is too threadbare to be denied admittance to this hospitable book. In fact, Rhine is not only willing to suspend disbelief but to drop it altogether.

There is the story of the little child, who while out walking, is seized with a vision of her mother lying stricken and helpless on the floor at home, with a "lace-bordered handkerchief" alongside. In a frenzy of alarm the child rushes back only to find the vision confirmed, her mother *and the handkerchief* strewn about as expected. Commenting on this incident, which he extracted from a work named *Phantasms of the Living,* Rhine remarks, with commendable scientific objectivity, that "such non-experimental evidence" should be regarded as "more suggestive than conclusive."

I am also much intrigued by the case of the "world-famous psychiatrist" who, "just as he was about to begin to make a study of a medium located a few miles away," was greeted by a "pistol-like report . . . [which] consisted of the splitting of a very old, well seasoned table top." Now the psychiatrist was no fool and was not to be so easily deterred; as a scientist, after all, he knew that there are cases on record of wood splitting without a medium being in the neighborhood. But what really confused him was that an "old steel-bladed bread knife also went to pieces about the same time, accompanied by a similar loud explosive report." "I was frankly puzzled," writes Rhine, but then adds cogently, "I have a photograph of the knife, which shows the blade clearly broken into four sections."

Personal history. As I reflect on this book, I am harassed by a persistent, non-telepathic and non-clairvoyant vision of my own. During the war, among its many research projects, the War Department sponsored Sir Hubert Wilkins, the noted explorer, in a series of experiments involving the transmission of telepathic messages to a colleague situated somewhere in the frozen north. Sir Hubert would enter a little tent pitched in the middle of a large War Department office, taking with him some peanut-butter sandwiches, settle himself and proceed to concentrate.

Whether or not the results were successful I cannot say, but the performance made a great impression on me at the time and had at least one traumatic effect. I have since been unable to hear of telepathy, and was therefore unable to read *The Reach of the Mind,* without thinking of peanut butter. It seems to me only fair to offer this experience to Dr. Rhine.

WHICH PAPER D'YA READ?

YOUR NEWSPAPER: BLUEPRINT FOR A BETTER PRESS, by Nine Nieman Fellows (Macmillan; $2.75).

THE COMICS, by Coulton Waugh (Macmillan; $5).

THE LATEST CONTRIBUTION to the growing critical study of the American press is the work of nine experienced newspaper people—seven men and two women—who were Nieman Fellows in journalism at Harvard in the class of 1945-46. It is a work that deserves to stand with the valuable current investigations of the same subject by A. J. Liebling and Don Hollenbeck.

Anti. It is the unanimous conviction of the nine authors that "the newspaper service generally available to the intelligent American reader does not adequately serve him with the information he needs to form his judgments as a voter in a self-governing system." The major counts in their indictment of the press are that it is irresponsible, biased in favor of property and privilege, and too narrowly owned and controlled. The indictment is no longer novel, but in *Your Newspaper* the familiar charges are presented moderately, factually, in detail and with a keen, objective professional knowledge of the problems and difficulties involved.

As they say, "they aren't warming up the trite accusations that advertisers control the press, or that owners are in a conspiracy to suppress the news." They believe that, with some notable exceptions, American newspaper owners want to be of service to the public and have no intention of distorting the news. It is nevertheless true that their class interests, associations and outlook as big businessmen make it almost impossible for them to be fair to both sides on social and economic issues. To keep his paper open to the free flow of facts on a controversial matter, when he happens to have a large personal stake in the outcome, requires a discipline on the part of the capitalist publisher which amounts to a conscious sense of trusteeship. The authors feel that this sense is far too rare to keep the press from being distinctly one-sided. (See page 30.)

Money, money. "Journalism is a profession controlled by a business." Professional standards in law, medicine, education, architecture and engineering are maintained by their practitioners, "but the newspaper is a business and those who do its professional work are employees, subject to the business management." The standards in journalism are individual standards, "enforced only by a man's conscience or his boss, who may also have a conscience, but that cannot be guaranteed."

Furthermore, they feel that the newspaper has been "assiduously and studiously" driving out talent. Despite the general rise in salaries, the reporter, so far as pay is concerned, continues to be the least important man on the paper. In fact, editorial costs constitute a relatively small part of the total expense of getting out a newspaper, with figures provided by the authors indicating that, on the average, papers "spent 16.4 percent of their budgets for editorial expenses—less than the cost of printing (21.7 percent) and not much more than they spent for newsprint and ink (13.3 percent)."

As in every criticism of the press, the authors present as proof of the weakening of journalistic influence and the growing division between publishers and public, the fact that, in one of FDR's campaigns, 85 percent of the press was hostile to him. This, they believe, is an indication that readers buy their newspapers these days chiefly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the amusement value, as represented by the comic strips, gossip columns and sport pages, and have ceased to place any confidence in their newsworthiness, accuracy or fairness. That, however, does not mean that sensational, reactionary or semi-fascist papers do not have a dangerous influence of their own. "Although many readers," the authors say, "distrust the editorials and much of the 'news,' they unconsciously accept the scapegoats offered them in such papers, sliding all too easily into anti-Semitism and fear of the vague hobgoblin named 'Red' or 'radical,' which may cover anything from Communists to Harold Stassen."

"Ignorance and hate." *Your Newspaper* devotes a long and interesting chapter to the treatment of foreign news, with particular attention to Russia. It is not a picture that reflects pleasantly on American journalism. Such matters as the general anti-Soviet hysteria represented by the outbursts of the Hearst press, editorial exaggeration of the alleged "Iron Curtain," Red melodrama written by the Alsops and the questionable captioning of photographs from the USSR seem to the authors dangerous enough; and they charge that the press "bears a major share of responsibility for the climate of ignorance and hate which darkens our relations with Soviet Russia."

They recall that for more than a generation the majority of our papers have been hostile to almost everything Russian. In fact the Hearst press has even made teachers afraid to speak to their students about the Soviet Union. What they regard as particularly significant, though, is that such a respected journal as the New York *Times* is almost as guilty as the Hearst and Patterson-McCormick press of what the authors call "street-corner irresponsibility" in dealing with Russian news.

In their survey of every department of the press and their blueprint for the ideal newspaper—it would be somewhere between standard size and tabloid, have stories more compactly written, have more flexibility in headlines and do less "jumping" of stories—the authors are always valuable and provocative, although occasionally sketchy. In the end they place responsibility upon the public. "What your press may become lies in the hands of the American people. The press is their baby; they are its ultimate trustees."

The funnies. The authors of *Your Newspaper* give the impression of being slightly appalled by the growing importance of the comic strip to the press, but Coulton Waugh, who has drawn them himself, heralds their influence with enthusiasm in his readable, exhaustive and uncritical history, *The Comics*. There is much lively detail about a seemingly endless number of strips of all kinds, but the material is not well organized or analyzed. These comics, as their enemies say, may be just another sign of the decadence of the press, but they suggest a few encouraging things about American taste. At least, high among the most popular strips are such superior examples as the cheerful marital life of Blondie and Dagwood, the hilarious hillbilly antics of Li'l Abner, the lively Eastern adventures of Milton Caniff's assorted heroes and the career of the liberal champion, Joe Palooka. The public could do worse.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

WORTH REPRINTING

SEVERAL INEXPENSIVE COLLECTIONS of Chekhov's stories and plays are already available in this country, and if a new selection was to be made —*The Portable Chekhov*, edited by Avrahm Yarmolinsky (Viking; $2)— one might wish that more than several dozen pages had been allotted to his inimitable letters. Included, however, are 28 stories and two plays ("The Cherry Orchard" and "The Boor").

The introduction, also by Yarmolinsky, gives a substantial account of the writer's life and character. For a number of years Chekhov was a practising physician, first as head of a small country hospital, and later independently in Moscow. This training and

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION
ANTON CHEKHOV

practice helped him, he thought, in his writing by "giving him a more perceptive and penetrating knowledge of men and women, guarding him against the pitfalls of subjectivity, one of his bugbears." It provided, no doubt, much of the material for his stories of "cruelty, want, boredom, misunderstanding," classic expressions of a life that is an "unintelligible and largely painful business." One can imagine also how it conditioned him to "look upon weakness with a forgiving, almost an affectionate eye."

Correlative to this patience and imaginative sympathy, however, was his suspicion of, or indifference to, the social forms of his time, from conventional sentiment to revolutionary politics. "He had put no stock in classes or institutions; he had no faith in the intelligentsia or the proletariat, or for that matter in the peasantry." His hope, on the other hand, was in the responsible virtues of the individual. "What is needed," he writes in a letter, "is continuous work, day and night, constant reading, study, will power . . . everything else can go to the devil."

This fine strictness was in large measure a personal response to, and defense against, the terrible lassitude of his "flabby, sour, dull time," which he characterized thus: "Instead of knowledge—inordinate brazenness and conceit, instead of hard work—laziness

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and swinishness. . . ." And the writers of his time, he notes in 1892, suffer from a "disease which for an artist is worse than syphilis or impotence. . . . We have neither immediate nor distant aims and our souls are a yearning void. We have no politics, we don't believe in revolution, we have no God, we are not afraid of ghosts, and I personally am not afraid even of death and blindness."

A probably true enough account, in the negative, but although hovering in his work, it was not this intellectual and emotional deadlock that created the fiction, and against it we must place another statement: "My holy of holies is the human body, health, intelligence, love and absolute freedom —freedom from violence and falsehood, no matter how the last two manifest themselves." And again that devotion to work, that passionate dedication to the vocation itself: "He clung to the conviction that a writer was not an entertainer . . . but a man working under contract who was bound by his conscience to tell the whole truth."

Restoration. At the time of its publication, Dostoevsky suppressed several chapters of *The Possessed*. The nature of these chapters became known by hearsay and fostered, during his lifetime, a legend of sadism in the writer. Published now for the first time in this country as *Stavrogin's Confession* (Lear Publishers; $2.75), they are the admission by that hero to the monk Tikhon of certain sado-masochistic elements in his character, and a detailed account, in particular, of the sexual abuse of a young child. The inclusion in this volume of Sigmund Freud's essay, "Dostoevsky and Parricide," slants toward a clinical or biographical, rather than a literary, interest for the fragment.

In addition, the introduction to the suppressed chapters by V. Komarovich substantially proves that they were suppressed not (as is suggested) because of objections from the publisher (they were not included in later editions when such restrictions were removed), but for perfectly obvious, artistic reasons. The character of Stavrogin in the *Confession*, particularly his impulse to penance, is incompatible with the Stavrogin of the finished novel.

The fragment has the interest of any unpublished material by a great writer. In addition, Komarovich says that "the motif of a cruelly insulted little girl . . . is evidently one of Dostoevsky's long-standing and enduring ideas." But that the confession is personal to the author, Komarovich explicitly disclaims. It might be true; it might not. But as this volume never carries the possibility beyond mere conjecture, any insistence in connection with it serves to revive an old scandal rather than to further any legitimate interest.

JOHN FARRELLY

Recommended by the editors of *The New Republic*

END OF A BERLIN DIARY
By WILLIAM L. SHIRER. "An important, chastening, and rather terrifying study in Lest We Forget."—RICHARD WATTS, JR., *New Republic.* $3.50

FOREIGN MUD
By MAURICE COLLIS. ". . . a charming, urbane, and thoroughly delightful account of the opium war between China and England."—RICHARD WATTS, JR., *New Republic. Illustrated.* $5.00

TRANSPORT TO SUMMER
By WALLACE STEVENS. A new volume by a master, containing poems that "are as good as anyone is writing in English."—ROBERT LOWELL, *Nation.* $2.50

THE JAMES FAMILY
By F. O. MATTHIESSEN. A full-length biography with a generous and critical selection from the writings of Henry Sr., Henry Jr., William, and Alice. 730 pages. *Illustrated.* $6.75

A VIEW OF THE HARBOUR
In this novel ELIZABETH TAYLOR achieves "the austerity of Virginia Woolf and a needle-like humor reminiscent of Huxley."—*Saturday Review of Literature.* $3.00

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRÉ GIDE
Volume I: 1889-1913
These *Journals*, by the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, "are the central pier upon which the imposing edifice of his work is built."—LOUISE BOGAN, *Nation.* $5.00

THE AGE OF REASON
By JEAN-PAUL SARTRE. A novel that is "bound to win a place among the classics of French fiction."—JOHN COURNOS, *New York Sun.* $3.00

At all bookshops

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

The Reprieve, the second novel in Jean-Paul Sartre's trilogy, is another Borzoi book recommended by the editors of New Republic. Because of circumstances beyond our control, we were not able to include the title in this ad.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUSINESS: Gentlemen of the Press

WHEN the Commission on Freedom of the Press published its report, "A Free and Responsible Press," last spring, a cry went up that its comments were the mouthings of longhairs, no one of whom had ever earned an honest dollar covering a beat. I wonder what excuse the press will dream up to explain away *Your Newspaper.* (See "Books," page 27.)

The authors, all Nieman Fellows at Harvard during 1945-46, were designated by their editors and by the Nieman Committee as exemplary journalists; so what they say can't be tossed off lightly. As the introduction to *Your Newspaper* observes, "It is worth noting that a group of working newspapermen came to essentially the same conclusions as the commission." It is particularly interesting to me, because in the field of business and economic news the nine authors indict the press for wholesale abuse of the American Society of Newspaper Editors' code of ethics.

Headlines. In the OPA fight, the *Times* felt obliged to run Secretary of the Treasury Fred Vinson's 15-paragraph argument for continuation of price control. In a few lines at the end was a routine Chamber of Commerce handout. But the *Times,* as part of its shameless anti-OPA campaign, headlined the story: "US Chamber Hits OPA Trade Curb."

Among their broader criticisms of business and economic reporting, the nine authors cite the failure to relate a news item to its implications. If Ted Williams were traded to the St. Louis Browns tomorrow, typewriters would pound out stories of Williams' record, what the trade will mean to the two teams, and how it affects the pennant race next year. But when it comes to business it's different.

From their inside vantage point these journalists comment: "Our newspapers seem only too eager to place strike news—or news of any other conflict of interest—in heavy, black type on page one, but they ignore organized labor's peaceable proposals and efforts to enhance our way of life." They recall the press handling of the 1946 railroad strike as "one of the most amazing performances in the annals of journalism," with the *Times* on the first day of the story running 39 columns under the highly prejudiced slogan: "Strike Paralyzes Nation."

Front-office editing. Rounding up the press handling of labor, the book makes a harsh indictment: "Most labor reporters can quote cases in which a publisher's or editor's loyalties and friendships colored labor stories." They document this allegation copiously. For example, when Truman demanded a draft-labor law in Congress, the press reeled for joy. The Boston *Globe,* among others, screamed: "Congress Backs Truman 100 percent on Strike Views." The boys knew better —or should have—for a few days later Congress overwhelmingly rejected the proposal. An error like that in the reporting of any other story would have cost someone his job.

Out of their experience as working journalists, these authors have reached the conclusion that in the reporting of business "the fetish of objectivity does not trouble most writers." The authors think the failure of business news to fill in the background has created a public impression that we are in a kind of national free-for-all in which everyone should grab while the grabbing's good. This does not mean that every business reporter must be a lineal descendant of Lord Keynes; but it does suggest that the man who writes a strike story ought to bring to it at least as much as the sports writer does on his job.

Because none of the contributors to *Your Newspaper* are professional business-page writers or editors, they miss the finer points. Business news is written almost entirely from handouts. The resulting nonsense fills my files with strange tidbits, of which my current favorite is a *World-Telegram* lead story captioned: "Red Propagandists Blamed for Fight on Fair Trade Laws." For half a column the piece ranted: "Attacks on fair-trade legislation, growing in scope and intensity, are prompted by confusion spread by propagandists who would reduce our economy to the Russian level." The authority for this gem is one John W. Anderson, a windshield-wiper magnate from Gary, Indiana. What made this item so ridiculous was the fact that on the very same day *Fortune* hit the stands with a lead editorial calling for "getting a great many obnoxious laws off the books," and the chief target of *Fortune's* attack was the fair-trade laws.

Facts be damned. Much mischief is worked by business writers who simply will not admit to their readers that there is another side to the story. Henry Hazlitt has been campaigning in his *Newsweek* column in defense of the grain speculators. He could find no recent economic evidence to support his position. Nor did his readers learn that in 1937 the Federal Trade Commission economists had conducted an exhaustive investigation damning grain speculation. They were not told that last fall the effects of speculation in cotton were thoroughly probed and condemned by all concerned. Instead, Hazlitt quoted a 1911 remark of the late Professor F. W. Taussig defending speculation, although in the light of later events, Taussig has revised his position.

The current press campaign to discredit any form of effective curbs on inflation smacks of this same loose respect for facts. It's more evidence of the kind of thing the nine Nieman journalists talk about in *Your Newspaper.* Is it naïve to hope that some publishers have enough sense of responsibility—at least to their own pocketbooks—to be bothered by what their own staffs think of the dissemination of the news? Or is this another case of "the public be damned"?

HAROLD WOLFF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOVIES: Jingle Bells

THE DICKENS SELECTION for this Christmas is "Nicholas Nickleby," as presented by Prestige Pictures (Rank). It's good, standard holiday fare—improving for the children and a nostalgic treat for the grownups.

The story has been accelerated to a pace very unlike Dickens, and some of the lovable minor eccentrics have to step smartly to display their special idiosyncrasies before they're swept from the screen. But enough of the old plot is left to recall Dickens' strong disapproval of the contemporary school system, his horror of debtors' prison, his distaste for money lenders and his sympathy for pure young love.

Derek Bond is a bit insipid as the noble Nicholas, but he looks the part wonderfully well. Sir Cedric Hardwicke is properly reptilian as the grasping Uncle Ralph; and Alfred Drayton as Wackford Squeers, the master of Dotheboys Hall, appears in a makeup as villainous as any you'd see in "Treasure Island."

This latest addition to the Dickens screen library is perhaps not up to its predecessor (the fact is that *Nicholas Nickleby* is not as good a book as *Great Expectations*), but even so, it's a fine prelude to trimming a tree.

Angel cake. Samuel Goldwyn's "The Bishop's Wife" was a happy choice for the command performance in London last month. It is bland fare, calculated not to make crowned heads toss on the pillow, and its gentle and decorous whimsy is appropriate entertainment for Princess Margaret Rose.

What we have here, believe it or not, is a story of sore-pressed mortals whose difficulties are resolved one Yuletide by the offices of an apprentice angel (Cary Grant) engaged in collecting enough merit badges to earn a pair of wings. Royalty probably doesn't get to the pictures often enough to be struck by the familiarity of the situation.

The principal sufferer in this case is David Niven, a very social bishop who has been forced to such extremes of apple polishing in an attempt to buy himself a cathedral that he has about lost his own respect and the affection of his wife (Loretta Young). There is also a subsidiary charity case in Monty Woolley, an impoverished professor who can't get down to writing his history of the Roman Empire.

Grant is the most personable angel we have had. His clothes are well cut; he orders a little luncheon with wonderful poise; he makes a charming guest in an upset household. The miracles he passes are for the most part trivial and discreet (though he does turn James Gleason into a figure skater) and his serious work is done by recognized psychiatric techniques. In fact, Grant resembles a well connected analyst to the point of stirring up a mild love affair with his pretty lady patient.

There is no point in discussing the acting in "The Bishop's Wife." You can no more act in such a vehicle than you can turn cartwheels down the aisle of a Greyhound bus.

Holiday matinee. "Bush Christmas," which comes from Australia by way of J. Arthur Rank, is a tale of five small children on horseback who track down and corner a trio of thieves making off with papa's prized mare. It's first-rate juvenile entertainment, though for some reason it isn't billed that way. R. L. H.

FOLKS LIKE IT!!
FOR CHILDREN'S LUNCHES

SELL'S LIVER PÂTÉ
SIMPLY DELICIOUS!

YOUR GROCER HAS IT
GET SOME TODAY!

LECTURE

ANTI-SEMITISM
POSTWAR MODEL
BRUCE BLIVEN

noted journalist reports on his personal investigation of anti-Semitism in America. A hard-hitting, "no-punches-pulled" type of report.

FRIDAY EVE. DECEMBER 19TH
8 P.M. — CONCERT HALL
BARBIZON PLAZA HOTEL
101 West 58th Street, New York City
ADMISSION: $1.50
Write for Tickets Now!

Auspices:
AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF JEWISH WRITERS, ARTISTS, AND SCIENTISTS
119 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y.
ALBERT EINSTEIN SHOLEM ASCH
Honorary Presidents

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese — Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book, LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York, CI 7-0830.

IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT. Spanish, Russian, Norwegian, Dutch, Swedish, Japanese. 23 other phonograph language courses. All makes. ought, sold, rented. Free catalogue. A. Alin, 475 5th Ave., N. Y., MU 3-1093.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RADIO: Corn and Magnolias

NASHVILLE, TENN.

ON a bright Sunday afternoon, this reporter visited The Hermitage, the stately shrine maintained in memory of its historic master, Andrew Jackson. As a visitor to Nashville, I was eager to pay homage to Old Hickory. But before we entered the hallowed grounds, I stopped to count the automobiles on the parking lot. There were exactly 25 cars there; 24 had Tennessee license plates.

The night before, many hundreds of automobiles parked in the lot back of Nashville's rickety old 4,700-seat Ryman Auditorium. I noted license plates from 28 states, including every state on the West Coast and each of the six in New England. These cars brought people who, that Saturday night, paid 30 cents admission (60 cents in the reserved section) to see America's greatest marathon of corn and nostalgia.

Packed in the hard pews of the auditorium (built originally as a tabernacle for revivalists), they sat with their families, gawking, laughing, shouting, whistling and applauding as their favorite stars came forward to scrape on their fiddles; twang their guitars; sing, croon, harmonize or shout authentic folk music, phony hillbilly tunes, spirituals, or an occasional modern number with an old-time twist. This was "Grand Ole Opry" in the flesh, and The Hermitage 15 miles away could sleep on in its grandeur and magnolia.

Four-hour show. Maybe you have never bothered, on Saturday nights at 10:30, to listen to "Grand Ole Opry" on NBC. If by chance you have heard it, you may have wondered about the genuine quality of the "studio"-audience reaction that you got over the air. During that half-hour NBC airing, the "Opry" audience seems real, as if the microphone were placed smack in the middle of a big, grass-roots shindig and the entertainers were really members of the audience showing off one before another.

Well, that's close to what the "Opry" is. The top entertainers are professionals, but all are as real, homy and thoroughly acceptable to these people as if they were members of their own families. "Grand Ole Opry" is on the air for a total of four hours. The unabridged "Opry" originates over Nashville's big, 50,000-watt, clear-channel NBC affiliate, WSM. And every minute of it is sponsored.

I came to Nashville, and to WSM, primarily because this night was "Opry's" twenty-second anniversary. In the fall of 1925, a big insurance company opened its station, WSM. On a Saturday night about a month later, one of its announcers, George "Judge" Dewey Hay, met an old fiddler outside the studio and invited him in. The man's name was Uncle Jimmie Thompson. He sat in a studio draped with curtains and played for an hour. Then Hay was ready to close down for the night. But Uncle Jimmie insisted he had just got warmed up. So Hay signaled to the engineer, the transmitter was kept going for two or three hours more, and Uncle Jimmie played on. "Opry" has been going ever since.

Flesh and blood. But there was another reason why I wanted to look around WSM. One of the most powerful stations in the country, as well as one of the most prosperous, it is also one of the pitifully few local outlets interested in "live" programming.

Recently, under pressure, WSM added disk-jockey shows to its log, but platter-twirling is still not WSM's way of providing entertainment. Its elaborate, five-days-a-week "Noontime Neighbors" farm show is embellished with a 20-piece orchestra of live musicians. It employs 10 announcers, about half of whom can act; has on staff eight other dramatic artists; and every week uses dozens of vocalists and instrumentalists, solo or ensemble. Some of the station's soloists are popular far beyond the immediate area. Roy Acuff's records have sold by the millions. The most popular recording of "Near You" was done by Francis Craig, of the WSM staff. The *Billboard's* latest listing of "most popular jukebox folk records" lists five numbers; the top three were waxed by Eddy Arnold, of WSM, and the fourth was done by another WSM regular, Red Foley.

Local talent. Too many network stations around the country are content to hook onto their web and let New York, Chicago or Hollywood feed them. When they do sell a local show to a local sponsor, records are the usual "entertainment." Non-network stations, on the whole, are no better. The excuse is: "We have no live talent." WSM, located in a city of 200,000 population, shows how talent can be kept alive.

Some people snicker at the type of entertainment produced on WSM's hillbilly-folk-music assembly line. The fact is that millions of Americans want that type of entertainment—and whether city slickers like it or not is beside the point. Furthermore, there is at least one man around WSM, Bradley Kinkaid, who for 20 years has dug into forsaken mountain hollows, bringing up ballads dating back to Elizabethan times. Even longhairs must admit that Kinkaid's work is a contribution to our culture. Radio—as I have noted before—can do well, when it tries.

SAUL CARSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUSIC: Mostly Folk

WHEN any form of entertainment develops in popularity, it usually gives birth to a crop of very bad imitations of the real thing, and America's growing interest in folk music is no exception. It's getting so that anyone can be a folk singer, and people who shouldn't be allowed near a microphone have discovered that there's no easier way of picking up an easy buck than by purchasing a guitar, learning a few songs and studying the expressions that go with them (the frown for "Joe Hill"; the smirk for "Foggy Dew" and other songs with even more earthy implications). Whether the singers have any talent of their own appears to be a matter of small concern, so long as they voice either social significance or just plain smut.

During the past few years I've heard countless so-called folk singers who get by only on the content of the music; people whose talent and personality lend color to the songs are few and far between. Of these latter, who have a genuine understanding of folk music, my favorites are the team of Josef Marais and Miranda. Their specialties are the native and colonial songs of South Africa, which last year delighted New York's Village Vanguard patrons as well as those who heard their Decca album, "Songs of the South African Veldt."

Unlike such fine interpreters of folk music as Josh White and Richard Dyer-Bennet, Marais and Miranda stay away from the dramatic approach and give their songs a delicate and charming treatment that's almost childlike in its appeal, and their unusually clever arrangements do not distort the basic simplicity of the material.

In their newest album, "Songs of Many Lands" (Decca A-605; $3.75), they offer, in addition to several South African selections, folk music of England, Holland, France and the USA. All of these are relatively obscure—at least they are to me—and I think it will be a treat to hear two sympathetic artists handling songs that were created solely for fun, rather than for royalties and the "Hit Parade."

Notes. Nellie Lutcher's back again, having a fine old time, which you'll probably share on Capitol's "Do You or Don't You Love Me?" and "The Song Is Ended but the Melody Lingers On." . . . More urbane, yet in the same tradition of the Mills Brothers and the Ink Spots, are the Charioteers, whose Columbia album (C-156; $3.75) offers sprightly arrangements and effortless, unassuming vocal treatments that should be fine for dancing.

Highlighting a Decca "Showboat" album (A-619; $3.75) are Bing Crosby and Lee Wiley, doing an engagingly humorous "I Still Suits Me." Listeners may object to this as "Uncle Tom," but let's face it—so is "Showboat." Other artists on the album are Frances Langford, Tony Martin and Kenny Baker. . . . Helen Forrest, a girl who really knows how to squeeze all the misery out of a song, weeps convincingly on "Don't You Love Me Any More?" and "Don't Take Your Love from Me" (M-G-M).

George Wettling, frustrated cowboy and best small-band drummer in jazz, recently displayed his talents in another creative field, with an exhibition of paintings at New York's Norlyst Gallery, which he shared with photographer Otto Hess, a specialist in pictures of jazz musicians at work. The paintings show the influence of Wettling's teacher, Stuart Davis, and the photographs show the influence of Otto Hess. At the opening the guests showed the influence of liquor.

The Max Kaminsky trio, currently playing at the Vanguard in New York, hasn't recorded yet, but I wish one of the companies would get around to signing the group, an odd combination of trumpet, piano and drums that plays the most straightforward stuff I've heard in a year.

CHARLES MILLER

RESORTS

THE WOODLANDS
PHOENICIA, NEW YORK
Reopening from DECEMBER 24 to JANUARY 4
Fill your Christmas stocking in a Winter Fairyland with outdoor skating, skiing and sledding.
Fill another stocking with indoor gaiety and palate-pleasing victuals.
N. Y. Phone: BOulevard 8-1461
New York Address: SIGGIE GOLDNER 68-36—109th Street, Forest Hills, New York

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Skiing in season. Records, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation. American-Jewish cooking.
Attractive Winter rates
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

SEASON'S GREETINGS from
WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
Skating, Iceboat races, Fishing, Hunting, Records. A pleasant, informal atmosphere, excellent home cooking, congenial hosts. Square dancing nearby. Rate: $7 Daily.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, WALDEN, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 30-W-1

CHRISTMAS WEEK
at the
HOTEL ILA
(Only 45 minutes from N. Y.)
Tangy ocean air, delicious food, served in an informal, relaxing atmosphere. $50 per week, including gala New Year's dinner and dance.
Hotel Ila, 325 W. Broadway, Long Beach, N. Y.
Tel. Long Beach 2392
Open all year — Attractive winter rates

Yours! THE PERFECT CHRISTMAS VACATION!
Full Entertainment Staff
All Winter Sports
Ice Skating on Premises
Reservations Dec. 24th—Jan. 4th
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

world famous lake placid
year 'round vacation wonderland
$10 and up daily includes de luxe room, bath, superb meals at the new
Hotel Marcy LAKE PLACID, N. Y.
Send for souvenir booklet NR-6 "The Lake Placid Story"

CHRISTMAS GREENS

LOVELY CHRISTMAS EVERGREENS. Guaranteed Fresh and Different. Write Guy Causey's Little Farm, R. No. 4, Greensboro, North Carolina.

PAINTINGS

PAINTINGS UNDER $100. Artists Orban & Pacheco at our studio, 30 East 14th Street, N. Y. C. Call GR 7-1748.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATER: The Old Ruffian

A CRANKY PRODUCER, insisting upon fewer sets, fewer actors and a more definite story line, would have been useful to William Shakespeare when he sat down to write "Antony and Cleopatra." From the evidence within the work, it would seem that Shakespeare must have been at the top of his poetic powers when he wrote the play, but that he worked hurriedly and with insufficient planning and preparation. So we have a creaky and rambling structure, overlaid with the most powerful and brilliant language, difficult, fitfully magnificent, unshapely and great.

Purpose and industry. In the production at the Martin Beck, Miss Katharine Cornell once more reminds us of our theater's debt to her. She seems singularly pure of the normal flaws of stardom. She does not look for sure things. She avoids vehicles in which she does all the running, kicking, passing and scoring; and often accepts plays, like "Antony and Cleopatra," in which the first part really belongs to someone else. In this case it is Godfrey Tearle, as Antony.

Her productions are not loaded with middling actors, discreetly chosen to display the talents of the star. On the contrary, she crowds her plays with dangerous and superb actors, who, in the fat scenes given them, are likely to play anybody off the stage. She experiments with new and different forms in the theater, and was doing so as far back as Obey's "Lucrece" and as recently as the existentialist production of "Antigone." There is a steady feeling of high purpose and intelligent industry about Miss Cornell's career, and the observer must be gratified by the realization that the theater has been so good to an artist who has been so good for it.

Superb moments. In "Antony and Cleopatra," it is of course "the old

ruffian," as Caesar calls him, whose fortunes we follow most avidly. As Antony, Godfrey Tearle, after the almost impossible early scenes of ribaldry and lust (which were also Miss Cornell's most trying moments), is altogether the aging soldier, simple-minded, brave, unmoral, who pressed his luck too far and paid for it with his life.

In a quiet scene during which Antony reflects upon his overthrow (that favorite scene of Shakespeare's—the noble man in complete defeat), Tearle, playing with a weary, searching gravity strongly in contrast with the noise and bombast of earlier scenes, makes you believe and sorrow for the old soldier stranded among his dead friends and victorious enemies.

As Cleopatra, a part which you feel has been given certain scenes out of a sense of duty by an author who is really more interested in the politics and campaigns of the Romans, Miss Cornell speaks beautifully. She moves with an almost too perfect grace, which gives a sense of hidden composure to even her most violent moments.

She is perhaps a little too much the queen to be the raging female barbarian that Shakespeare indicated he wanted. But the fault is not entirely hers, because that side of the queen's character is described rather than proved dramatically in the writing. It is only in the last act, in the tremendous peroration over the body of Antony in the tomb, that the powers of the author and the actress blend perfectly at last, to create a moment of great tragic beauty and passion.

Deceptive ease. The director, Guthrie McClintic, has done his job so unobtrusively that its skill might well be overlooked. He has guided what seems to be two full battalions of excellent actors through a constantly and elaborately shifting succession of settings with what looks like, and of course cannot be, effortless ease. He has a firm and pleasant sense of design that he never allows to be disturbed, whether there is one actor on the stage, or twenty, whether the set is minute or enormous. And the performances he has obtained from his actors are uniformly intelligent, clear and without the windy mannerisms we have so often seen in Shakespearean productions.

McClintic must be pleased with the work of Kent Smith as a cynical, truth-saying, finally broken and despairing lieutenant of Antony's.

On the debit side, there is a troubling sense that the entire work is too polite for such a bloody chronicle of war, deceit, suicide and violent love. The production perhaps should have been rougher, some of the performances fiercer, uglier. And the costumes are considerably to blame, especially those on the soldiers who swarm through the play. They give an effect of almost musical-comedy prettiness. The battle-scarred veterans of countless campaigns, whose exploits mean life and death to the lovers, seem to be impossibly removed, in their bright clothing, from the reality of warfare. The illusion suffers on account of it.

Still, the play and the production presented hundreds of knotty problems to the director and the actors, and they have solved most of them with admirable courage and skill.

IRWIN SHAW

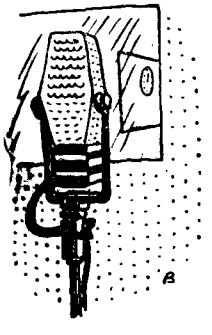
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOR: On the Air

ONE OF THE SIGNS of growing maturity among American labor unions is the determination with which they are branching into broad fields of public information, education and economic activity. It isn't likely that the long cherished goal, a "national labor newspaper," will become an actuality, but unions are moving fast into the radio field.

David Dubinsky's AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union already holds licenses for six FM stations, and Walter P. Reuther's CIO United Automobile Workers has permits for three stations. The Chicago Federation of Labor (AFL) has a standard station in operation and a permit for FM operation. The CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers has a Chicago permit.

There is the possibility, at least, of an FM chain in which the UAW, the ILGWU and other labor stations



would be coördinated, allowing sharp reduction in costs for each station on nationwide chain-circulated programs. Labor unions have talents and professional skills for high-ranking programs; the brilliant presentations by AFL theatrical and movie figures, when the Taft-Hartley Act was pending, were evidence of the potential effectiveness of unions in the radio-propaganda and education field.

Fair hearing. The impetus of unions toward radio stations is stimulated by the feeling of virtually all labor leaders that they get considerably less than an even break in newspapers and over commercially owned radio.

"Liberal" commentators have an unfortunate tendency to lose their sponsors, while commentators who belabor unions in every case of industrial strife somehow seem to hold their contracts without trouble.

In the newspapers, unions often get a fair deal in the news columns, but the editorial policy of most papers is weighted against the union position in almost any strike. Long before the days of Samuel Gompers, therefore, a "labor newspaper" was a gleam in the eye of union leadership. But this country is too big to be covered effectively by a single newspaper circulating nationally. However, it can be covered by a union FM radio chain.

There are people within unions who recognize the value of such a chain—the outlet it would give labor for progressive news commentators, plus the almost limitless opportunities for revenue-producing operations. A national news presentation is now sponsored commercially by the United Electrical Workers; other commentators are sponsored regionally. When unions own radio stations they will have a broader opportunity to take their viewpoints to the people.

Labor and co-ops. An equally significant development has projected unions more directly into the consumer-coöperative movement in recent months. While the National Tax Equality Association, an ingeniously named outfit, is lobbying for abolition of tax exemptions for co-ops, unions are entering the co-op field on an almost wholesale scale.

The British labor movement long ago gave very substantial support to consumer co-ops, but in this country the chief bulwark of the co-ops has been the farmers. Now unions in many cities, spurred by today's living costs, are organizing their own coöperative groups, chiefly for selling food. Stores

MOTION PICTURES

GREGORY PECK
DOROTHY McGUIRE
JOHN GARFIELD
Gentleman's Agreement
BRANDT'S MAYFAIR 7th Ave. & 47th St.
20th CENTURY-FOX

ALBEE FULTON & DeKALB BROOKLYN NOW
"A BIG SHOW AND A GOOD ONE."—N. Y. Times
SAMUEL GOLDWYN Presents
DANNY KAYE • VIRGINIA MAYO
'The Secret Life of Walter Mitty'
COLOR BY TECHNICOLOR
—and—
'DICK TRACY'S DILEMMA' Ralph BYRD

STAGE PLAYS

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY
The Nation's Laugh Hit!
by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM Thea. 45 St. E. of B'way

"THE WITTIEST PLAY IN TOWN"-Atkinson, Times
MAURICE EVANS
in GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY
MAN AND SUPERMAN
ALVIN Thea., 52nd St. W. of B'way. CI 5-5226
Evgs. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

FOOD PARCELS

SEND FOOD TO EUROPE
Order Now—48-Hour Service
THE PRACTICAL GIFT
Parcel No. 90-A—$6.75

1 lb. butter	1 lb. dehydrated potatoes
1 lb. coffee	2 puddings
1 lb. rice	1 bar chocolate
1 lb. honey	5 bullion cubes
1 can corned beef	

Postage, Packing & Insurance Included
SPEEDY DELIVERY
Write for further information—50¢ handling charge only for parcels of personally selected items.
J. KOHLS — *Personal Parcel Service*
315 WEST 102nd STREET
New York 25, N. Y. AC 2-3844

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAGAZINE

THE SECRET WAR

against our free society, reported twice a month in DEMOCRACY'S BATTLE, your private guide to anti-democratic, un-American movements. 1 year — 24 issues—$3. Four months $1.
FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY
137 East 57 Street New York City 22

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—No. 1 Xmas gifts. All popular brands $1.43 per carton. Minimum order 3 cartons. Cigars—10¢ brands $4.29 per box of 50. All orders shipped postpaid insured on day received. Send check or money order. P.X. SALES, 287 14th Ave., Newark 3, N. J.

CIGARETTES — FAMOUS BRANDS $1.43 a carton postpaid. Send check or money order to **MASON'S Reliable Service**, 431 S. 14th St., Newark 3, N. J. Minimum 3 cartons.

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B. N. J.

FARMS & ACREAGE

TWO INEXPENSIVE summer or year-round homes. One has 9-room house; new plaster; new decorations; electricity; phone; gravity spring water; one acre of garden and lawn; splendid view; RFD road; $3,000 on easy terms. The other has good 8-room house; 50 acres scenic woodland; barn; RFD road. $4,000 on easy terms. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

"GOOD NEIGHBORS" WANTED

CHOICE ACRES are offered much below developer's prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, New York. Tel., 2515-M.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

HELP WANTED

CAMP IRONWOOD COMMUNITY, Harrison, Maine. Matured members of counselling staff, interested in forming more or less permanent association with progressive, coeducational camp, joining a working team in study and research combined with individual counselling and activity leadership. **Write Sebago School, 5521 Cates Avenue, St. Louis 12, Missouri.**

POSITIONS WANTED

AUTHOR-JOURNALIST, nationally known, three books, now columnist, finds self between books and needing project, magazine assignment, news work, public relations, ghost writing, or kindred occupation. Tel. WAdsworth 7-5253.

NURSE

NURSE will accompany invalid to Europe for expenses. Box 36, The New Republic.

RESEARCH

SOCIAL PROBLEMS investigated by research expert. Preparation of speeches and publications. Straight fee or share-of-profit. European-American background. Box 867, The New Republic.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

★ BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS ★

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

have been opened in Lansing and other Michigan cities, in Chicago and St. Louis; and a "supermarket" is now planned for the 65,000 members of the huge UAW local in Dearborn. A Motor City coöperative, hoping eventually for 12 supermarkets in the Detroit area, has both AFL and CIO members on its board.

Unions and "causes." The uproar about the Taft-Hartley Act and the dramatic demands of unions for new wage increases to balance living costs sometimes overshadow other union activities.

The CIO recently dedicated a wing for children at the Georgetown (D. C.) Hospital in memory of Franklin D. Roosevelt. . . . The CIO Community Services Committee announced a program to raise $1 million, in voluntary contributions, for emergency relief in foreign countries in 1948. . . . A Seattle local of the AFL teamsters' union made special collections of warm clothing for the people of Holland, whose possessions were looted by the Nazis; this was a result of a visit by Dutch delegates to an International Labor Office convention in Seattle last year.

Notes. One of the most interesting recent examples of union activity in the field of race relations is the UAW's pressure against the American Bowling Congress, which has scheduled its annual "No-Negroes-allowed" bowling tournament in Detroit next March. The UAW set up its own tournament in protest, and the UAW Anti-Discrimination Department released a letter—signed by Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, and Betty Hicks, a topflight woman professional golfer—"protesting" to Governor Kim Sigler the use of Michigan state property for the ABC tournament.

Boris Shishkin, AFL economist and member of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee, has disclosed that the reason the committee did not criticize the Taft-Hartley Act was that agreement among the members would have been "impossible."

WILLARD SHELTON

CORRESPONDENCE

No More Ulcers?

SIR: . . . If the *New Republic* became synonymous with the American taste for reporting, editorial policy and strong constant guidance, then we'd have a new republic indeed. And most of us could eliminate the ulcers and wrinkled brows we get from worrying about our futures.

I don't always agree, but such instances are rare. And then I feel gratitude for the challenges you offer. . . .

Your publication is an exciting experience.

ROBIN LORD,
Director of Public Relations,
Catholic Charities Diocese of Brooklyn
Brooklyn, N. Y.

"Like Any Other People in the World"

SIR: As a Palestinian exiled in the United States, I have waited eagerly for Henry Wallace's impressions of my country. . . .

I expected that his visit to Palestine would reveal to him some essential facts and basic truths, and indeed, I found in his article (the *NR*, November 3) this cardinal point: "It should be pointed out [that the Jewish state] is not conceived as a theocracy but as a democracy, with full citizenship rights regardless of race, religion or national origin."

The very term "Jewish state" refers to a theocracy, since no one denies the existence of the Jewish religion. The religious and therefore theocratic character of the proposed state is proved by the fact that the World Zionist Organization wholly disregards the citizenship of its American, British, Polish, Argentinian or French members, and speaks of a "Jewish state" in which, somehow, all these foreign nationals are involved. . . .

It seems clear to me that Mr. Wallace himself is troubled by [this problem], but he has not given any answers to it. In my opinion the *New Republic's* readers are entitled both to his views . . . as well as to the answers which we Palestinians have worked out.

We say that it is imperative that the Jews pass through their own reformation and adopt the basic democratic principle of separation of Church and State. We therefore say that the people known as the "Jews" are in actual fact members both of the Jewish faith and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

descendants of Hebrew ancestry. We say that one should not confuse Jewish religion with Hebrew nationality, nor should one confound the active adherence to the Jewish faith with the passive fact of national extraction. . . .

What we seek in Palestine is not some new and unique construction, not a ghetto-sized, "Jewish state," but the normal creation of a modern Hebrew republic.

Once again, Mr. Wallace's article shows his human sensing of the real nature of our problem, when he quotes a Palestinian pioneer as saying: "All we ask is the opportunity to be like any other people anywhere else in the world."

A "Jewish state," however, will not permit us to be "like any other people," but rather will confirm us to infinity in the uniqueness and abnormality of the Jewish position in Palestine, all over the world.

The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation seeks to solve the "Jewish problem" through the normalization of the status of the Jews. The Hebrew republic of Palestine will enable us Hebrews to live "like any other people in the world" and will make it possible for all the Jews in the world who do not wish to become Hebrew nationals in Palestine to become normal and truly equal citizens of the nations to which they choose to belong.

Without this clear distinction between Jews who are nationals of many lands and Hebrews who belong to Palestine, no real solution is possible. . . .

PETER H. BERGSON,
Hebrew Committee
of National Liberation
Washington, D. C.

BANDWAGON

Sure Thing

In spite of this compounded adversity, the Kuomintang (Government Party) goes ahead with plans for China's first national election. . . .

This is expected to produce a Kuomintang landslide because important opposition either will be unable or will not be permitted to take part. – *AP dispatch from Shanghai.*

A Proper Consideration

"We hesitate to clog our highways by leaving household furniture on the sidewalks." – *Sheriff Michael F. Cosello of Providence County, R. I., commenting on eviction operations, as quoted in the New York* Times.

Diehard

EAR MARY HAWORTH: My sister Gertude, a college graduate . . . is very ond of gin. When I visit my friends he insists on going with me; and inariably she becomes intoxicated to ich an extent that she insists on reting Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" r . . . "The Face on the Barroom loor. . . ."

I have tried repeatedly to make her oin Alcoholics Anonymous, which she fuses to do. Instead, she assures me that alcohol is a great source of comfort when one is depressed, and says if she joins any group, it will be the Women's Republican Club. – *From the Washington* Post.

Who's Loony Now?

They wrapped themselves in blankets and newspapers, they sprawled on the sidewalks, they cradled thermos bottles, and they cheered a black cat that stepped through a top-floor window of the palace and sat on a sill. To Britons it was a symbol of good luck.

Meanwhile Scotland Yard operatives searched the crowds for two escaped, dangerous lunatics. – *From a story on the royal wedding, in* PM.

Clincher

One of the most damaging bits of testimony brought out against an accused Red was a housewife's statement that her husband's stepmother had known a friend of the accused and was thereafter seen reading the *Daily Worker*. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. *Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors*

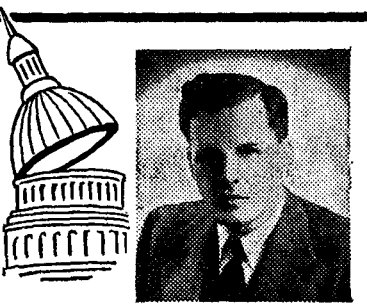
Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y. 173

A big three of
The New Republic's
Selection of
the year's best reading

EDMUND
WILSON
Europe Without Baedeker
"An intensely personal record of three postwar European countries on an intellectual and critical mind."—*New Republic.* "Extraordinarily lively and youthful . . . Something quite exceptional emerges."—*N.Y. Times.* $4.00

J. F.
POWERS
Prince of Darkness
"The best collection of short stories you are likely to find this year." — *Chicago Tribune.* "Mr. Powers proves that he has few rivals at creating characters." —*New Yorker.* 3rd printing, $2.75

THEODORE
DREISER
The Stoic
Theodore Dreiser's last great work is a novel in the group which includes *The Financier* and *The Titan.* "*The Stoic* proves once again what a great writer Dreiser was."—*James T. Farrell.* $3.00



JERRY VOORHIS
LIFTS THE LID OFF THE CAPITOL DOME . . .
"One of the sagest and most stimulating books that has ever been published on what Congress is and what it should be."—*N.Y. Herald Tribune.* "A detailed picture of the daily problems of a Representative." — *Washington Star.* $3.50

Confessions of a Congressman
by JERRY VOORHIS
At your bookseller's
DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREIGN PRESS: Clippings

WESER KURIER American - licensed zonal thrice-weekly newspaper, *Weser Kurier,* quotes Radio Vatican: A Catholic church is being built in Hiroshima, in memory of those who were killed by the first atom bomb. . . . This column awaits news of similar honors for Dachau, Buchenwald, Rotterdam or Lidice.

A political scandal in District Osterholz: up for reëlection as district supervisor, Dr. Stegemann was attacked by local Christian Democrats as "unfit for office." The good doctor is a Christian Democrat, but investigation proved that he is married to a woman belonging to the Social Democratic Party . . . *Achtung! Gleichschaltung!*

DIE WELT British - licensed daily, *Die Welt*: French Military Government has issued Directive No. 133, decreeing that on November 22 all denazification proceedings against "nominal and non-active" members of the Nazi Party and affiliate organizations be dropped.

A sign in a fashionable Munich shoe store: "Nothing available on credit, and even less for cash."

Der Morgen *Der Morgen* quotes the *German Postal Gazette:* Police are now instructed to cease their practice of stopping mail carriers on the street for the purpose of "inspecting" the letters and packages being delivered. Their reason: German authorities wish to protect the citizen's right to postal secrecy. Our suspicion: reaction to public complaints by Germans receiving packages with part of their contents missing.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Russian - licensed Berlin daily, *Neues Deutschland,* comments on General Lucius D. Clay's recent announcement that German editors are free to join or not join the US-sponsored anti-Communist press campaign: "Henceforth it will be clear that British and US-licensed papers engaging in the Goebbels line are doing so of their own free will—a fact that will weigh heavily in future courts." Whose courts?

Telegraf British-licensed *Telegraf:* The wedding present sent Princess Elizabeth by the Young Ruhr Coal Miners' Association was one day's food ration for the average German consumer.

Berlin schoolteachers will henceforth not beat their pupils, city authorities having unanimously voted against beatings. (See "Foreign Press," the *NR,* December 1). But the decision must now await Military Government approval before becoming law.

Der Sozialdemokrat Russian - licensed *Der Sozialdemokrat* front-pages its first eyewitness report on the London Council of Foreign Ministers under the headline, "USA Aid Against Communist Party Revolt?" indicating only by the question mark that this "report" is actually an editorial speculation. (This is the first time since the war that German journalists have attended an international gathering.)

The item reports French delegates in London "having information" that the United States has promised armed assistance to the French government in case the Communists try to take power or start a civil war; and quotes the same delegates as "expecting" the US to take over the policing of Germany's French zone in order to free French troops for home service.

ROME'S CANTACHIARO

PAROLES FRANÇAISES The Neo-Fascist French weekly, *Paroles Françaises,* parallels this German speculation with a violently aggressive article, entitled "Alert, America!" and addressed to "Mr. Babbitt," demanding immediate US armed aid to fight communism in France, on the grounds that the US is directly responsible for France's present plight. Among the "proofs": the US withdrew its troops from France at war's end, when "obviously, neither moral prestige nor economic influence is possible without the aid and guarantee of force"; and, to help win the war, the US aided the Maquis and "it is the Maquis that opened up the West to the virus of bolshevism . . . a peril considerably greater than defeated nazism. . . ."

A further, and American, parallel to this idea of armed intervention is implied in the December 5 New York *Times* Washington dispatch of James Reston, describing the unofficial "cloakroom" sentiments of our legislators, and suggesting that among the proposals now under discussion in Washington ". . . the Administration is being urged to reassure the Schuman and de Gasperi governments in Paris and Rome that if the Communists try to seize power by unconstitutional means, the legitimate governments of France and Italy can count on the support of the United States."

Paris-presse Proving that even in her troubles France does not forget her women, *Paris-Presse* reports that on December 22 Paris will elect the first Miss France to be chosen since war's end. She will have to pass a physical exam, including a blood test; prove after the bathing-suit parade that she wears clothes and hats "chicly"; demonstrate artistic and professional skills; show that she can cook and keep house; and submit to an examination by a panel of psychoanalysts to prove that she is not neurotic. *Quelle femme!* EVA PUTNAM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

In this page, the New Republic publishes several departments of informational and news advertising in the field of communications. Advertisements, to be acceptable, must be factual in character or objectively descriptive, or they can be recommendations by authorities or critics. Ads are listed by category, in the form of a directory, to give you easy access to the fields of your interest. Readers will find these listings, which will vary from week to week, of continuing interest.

Contents:

BOOKS

Fiction; History; Juveniles; Public Affairs; Special Interests; Bookstores; Old and Rare Books.

FINE ARTS

ORGANIZATIONS

RECORDS

The complete FINE ARTS Department will be published next in the issue of January 5th. Included in it are advertisements of sources for the many original art works, art reproductions, and art publications currently available.

BOOKS

Several classifications of books appear each week in this department, but not necessarily the same ones. From time to time, there will be listings of low-priced reprints; old and rare and special book dealers; and notices of related services in the field of publishing.

FICTION

FOREST OF THE DEAD, *by Ernst Wiechert, Greenberg, $2.50.* So many books, and so few of them really great. Yet of this one, George Schuster said in the *Herald-Tribune,* "one does not hesitate to call it great," and William McFee said in the *N. Y. Sun,* "Nobody will enjoy it, but everybody should read it." That is how we felt about publishing it, and that is how we think you will feel when you read it.

I WAIT FOR MIRACLES, *by Th. Th. Heine, Greenberg, $3.50.* Of this highly original novel by the founder and world-famous caricaturist of "Simplicissimus" *Thomas Mann* writes: "This fantastic and satirical variation of the autobiography—a form which could only have been invented by an artist as brilliant as Heine—is extremely attractive and it is treated with so much lightness and assuredness that it offers the same enjoyment as his graphic masterpieces."

HISTORY

WE, THE PEOPLE, *by Leo Huberman, with 25 drawings and end-papers by Thomas Hart Benton, Harper, $3.75.* A completely new edition of a widely-acclaimed history of the American people. Revised to include political and cultural effects of New Deal, it is "a unique and stimulating book."—*N. Y. Times.*

JUVENILES

HIDDEN ANIMALS, *by Millicent E. Selsam, pictures in color by David Shapiro, International Publishers, $1.* A gay picture book, as much fun as a game, which tells the young scientist of 6 to 9 a lot about protective coloration.

HOW MAN DISCOVERED HIS BODY, *by Sarah R. Riedman, 200 pictures by Frances Wells, International Publishers, $2.25.* A lively and dynamic account, for young people, of the great discoveries in physiology and the men who made them.

VOYAGE 13, *by Eric Lucas, drawings by James L. Wells, International Publishers, $2.* On Rusty's first trip as a merchant seaman everything happened. He learned, too, about seamanship, human relations, and union struggles. *Teen-age.*

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

INSIDE PAN-ARABIA, *by M. J. Steiner, Hendricks House-Packard and Company, $3.* A timely analysis of the explosive Palestine situation.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

ADOPTING A CHILD, *by Frances Lockridge, Greenberg, $3.* This book answers all your questions on how to adopt a child through a legitimate agency—the only safe way to protect yourself against legal hazards and get a normal healthy baby. It covers the whole scope of where, when and how to obtain a healthy, happy youngster.

500 ART & CRAFT BOOKS. A new edition of our big catalog is just off the press. It lists over 100 different classifications of Art and Craft books. Write us today for your free copy. *Watson-Guptill Publications, Dept. NR, 345 Hudson St., New York 14, N. Y.*

BOOKSTORES

The bookstores below will supply or order any books advertised on this page.

Boston

PERSONAL BOOK SHOP, *95 St. James Ave.*

Chicago

KROCH'S *206 North Michigan Ave.*

Los Angeles

BRENTANO'S, *611 West 7th St.*

New York

BRENTANO'S, *586 Fifth Ave.*

GOTHAM BOOK MART, *41 W. 47, N. Y. C.* The best in Modern Art & Literature by promising unknowns and established moderns. WINTER CURRENTS and LITTLE MAGS LIST on request.

OLD AND RARE BOOKS

Catalogue No. 131: Books and Autographs, for collector and scholar, in preparation. Free upon request. CARNEGIE BOOK SHOP, *140 E. 59th St., N.Y.C., 22.*

FINE ARTS

ART REPRODUCTIONS

New York

THE TRIBUNE SUBWAY GALLERY, *100 W. 42nd St.* The Ideal Gift: The Touchstone Series —ARTISTS OF THE PEOPLE. Each (9x12) special portfolio—98c. THE UNKNOWN VAN GOGH: 11 drawings—miners and workers. BRUEGEL: 10 engravings—peasant life. HOGARTH: 10 engravings of Old England. ALL 3 PORTFOLIOS—$2.70—GIFT PACKAGE. ASK FOR CATALOG: 717 reprod., 59 color.

ORGANIZATIONS

THE AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN REVIEW, an authoritative illustrated magazine presenting the thought, life and achievements of the Scandinavian peoples. Quarterly, $3 a year. Book list on Scandinavian affairs furnished free on request. *The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 116 E. 64th St., New York 21, N. Y.*

RECORDS

Listed below are albums, single records, and catalogs of special interest to New Republic readers.

UNUSUAL IMPROVISATIONS IN HOT JAZZ. Dixieland, New Orleans, Modern Jazz. Piano Solos, Blues, etc. Write for free, complete catalog: *Blue Note Records, 767 Lexington Ave., New York 21, N. Y.*

THE FOLKWAYS OF THE WORLD ON RECORDS: Disc Records Catalog, 48 pp., free, write: *Disc Company of America, 117 West 46th Street, New York 19, N. Y.*

F. D. ROOSEVELT'S OWN VOICE. Authorized recording of 23 of his most important radio addresses, N. B. C. incomparable recording, from First Inaugural March, 1933, to Jefferson Day address (posthumous), April, 1945. Two de luxe souvenir albums, 12 records, 2 sides, unbreakable, $24.50 set. For Collectors, Archives, Schools, Speech Students. *Linguaphone Institute, 204 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.*

READ THIS PAGE? Or any part of it? We'd appreciate having your frank comment or opinion about it. What items would you like to see advertised here? What sort of copy and layout make the most sense to you? Your opinions are a guide for us. Send them now to: E. G. Wood, New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"... MUST THE NAME OF AMERICA BECOME A STENCH IN THE NOSTRILS OF HUMANITY ...?"

An Open Letter To

SECRETARY OF STATE MARSHALL

WE, the surviving veterans of the first brigade of American fighting men to kill and be killed by the troops of Hitler and Mussolini, call upon you to destroy a policy that disgraces our nation in the eyes of the civilized world. We speak of the craven and cowardly role the U. S. delegation to the United Nations has assumed and still assumes whenever the issue of Spain arises.

FASCIST SPAIN MENACES WORLD PEACE

We shall not mince words. We need not go into chapter and verse about charges you know very well to be hard facts:

- **That the present fascist regime of Spain, created by the armed forces of Hitler and Mussolini, today harbors thousands of Nazi war criminals guilty of atrocities against Americans as well as hundreds of Nazi-owned and managed industrial plants.**
- **That German atomic scientists ARE working in fascist Spain NOW.**
- **That American security and world peace IS menaced by the continued existence of the Axis fascist regime of Franco Spain.**

We reject with utter contempt the assertions of the American delegates before the U.N. that Franco's opponents cannot prove any serious charges against fascist Spain.

Proof, uncontestable, documentary proof that the Franco regime does menace world peace has long been under lock and key in U. S. Government files in Washington. There are the records of our intelligence services, which show how Franco helped the Japanese take Manila, how Franco aided in the Nazi submarine sinkings of our shipping, how Franco's Falange interfered in the affairs of the Latin American states.

WHY DO WE HIDE THE EVIDENCE?

It is no longer a secret that thousands of documents relating to the Nazi cartels' control of Spain were, after the war, removed from the files of the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin by uniformed officers of the American Intelligence. You know well that the Ibero-American Institute, headed by the sinister General Wilhelm von Faupel, was Hitler's key agency for the establishment of the fascist regime in Spain and for the penetration, via Spain of Latin America.

NOT OURS TO HOARD

By what moral or legal right are the documents captured from the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin kept from the world by Franco's partisans in our government?

We demand that these documents—and all of our government's other documentary evidence that Franco aided the Nazis against us during the war and shields them now—be made available to the Security Council immediately. We demand this not only in the name of our 1800 members who died fighting the Axis and its satellite troops in Spain and of those many Lincoln Brigade veterans who fought and died in the uniform of the United States when the war spread from Madrid to Pearl Harbor. We also demand it in the name of all the soldiers of America and the other United Nations who fought and died to make the capture of these Nazi documents possible.

WHY DO WE ARM FRANCO?

We also demand that the United States cease arming Franco's fascist troops and maintaining Franco's economy —while our U.N. delegates disgrace America by protecting Franco from effective U.N. action. Why do we go on sending Franco the reconstruction goods and the food needed so desperately by our allies in the war against Franco's Axis masters?

We ask; must the name of America become a stench in the nostrils of humanity whenever the name Spain is spoken?

There can be only one answer. The American people abhor and oppose fascism. It is time that our State Department, which molds the foreign policy of our people, caught up with America. It is time to completely reverse the present policy of sabotaging and knifing every U.N. move to destroy fascism in Spain.

AMERICA MUST LEAD THE FIGHT

Continuation of our present appeasement policy towards Franco Spain is dangerous, indecent, and immoral.

It is more in keeping with the proud democratic traditions of our history for the molders of our foreign policy to:

1. **Immediately end all U. S. diplomatic and commercial relations with the Hitler-created and cartel-controlled fascist regime of Spain:**
2. **Lead the fight, in the United Nations, for passage of a resolution which will unite all the United Nations in a world diplomatic and commercial break with the Franco regime.**

This is the only policy that can free the Spanish people without a long and highly contagious war in Spain.

Any lesser course not only besmirches our dignity as a nation, Mr. Secretary; it also menaces the peace of the world.

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

ACT NOW! WRITE TO SECRETARY OF STATE, GEORGE C. MARSHALL, TO URGE THAT OUR GOVERNMENT BREAK DIPLOMATIC AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH FASCIST SPAIN.

ABOUT THE BRIGADE

Of the three thousand American "premature anti-fascists" who fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to help prevent the enslavement of Spain by Hitler and Mussolini, eighteen hundred were killed in action. Of those who returned, over two-thirds had been wounded at least once.

During the recent war, Lincoln Brigade men fought in the four corners of the earth. Six hundred served in various branches of the Armed Forces with distinction.

Today, the Lincoln Brigade is throwing its full support behind the people of Spain in their struggle to drive their Nazi-cartel overlords from their country.

PLEASE CLIP HERE

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I am interested in the work you are doing for a break with Fascist Spain. Here is my donation of $_____ to you for the continuance of your work.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Make checks payable to Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Contributions to this organization are tax exempt.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED